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I N D E X

# The American Child

VOL. I

MAY 1919—FEBRUARY 1920



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**National Child Labor Committee**

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

105 EAST 22D STREET

NEW YORK CITY

# The American Child

VOLUME I

MAY 1919—FEBRUARY 1920

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## EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

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With this issue the *Child Labor Bulletin* becomes *The American Child*. While the National Child Labor Committee has during the last few years been continuously broadening its scope, its quarterly publication has become something much more than an organ to influence and inform public opinion on child labor. It has contained articles on health, education, juvenile delinquency, and general child welfare. It had entirely out-grown its name, and *The American Child* was chosen as its new title because that seemed best to convey the present purpose of the editors—to give its readers a journal of all-round information and discussion on every subject concerning the welfare of American children of school age. It will be as distinctly a child labor review as formerly, but it will be something more. The child who goes to work is not essentially different from the child who passes through the public school grades and later perhaps has his four years of university training. Opportunity, paternity, environment, economic freedom or economic bondage, largely determine the lives of each. The object of a broad children's policy therefore, should be to give equal opportunity, not identity of opportunity, in every respect to all children, normal or defective. In some respects it may be said that defective children are given a better chance through special individualized training, than perfectly normal children—that working children, if they are able to withstand the wear and tear, the leveling monotony of early labor, may be stimulated to great effort through being given the opportunity to satisfy their instincts for wage-earning, productive work. The function of the schools should be to provide the same opportunity, making work developing instead of stunting, varied instead of specialized, calculated to draw out the full capacity and interest of the individual child, not to dwarf all children to a common industrial level and universal training. Child labor, as is stated elsewhere in these pages is a great educational

problem. It is a question of infinite ramifications that touches on the one hand the industrial problems of adult labor, and on the other the special, often mysterious problems of the nature of childhood and adolescence. The problem of freeing the schools from institutionalism, formal systems and Prussian-made industrial classification is intrinsic in the child labor problem. The time has come in this work when the *child*, not industry, not the state, not the convenience of manufacturers or parents, not the size of our pockets but the *child* must be thought of. What degree of protection does he need for his development in health, in mind, in his immeasurable potential qualities? Let us find out, and give him that protection. The editors of *The American Child* propose to get the fruit of the investigations and opinions of experts on these subjects and place these questions before their readers, frequently in the form of contributions from experts in different allied fields. They will be glad to receive from them in return, suggestions and news items of general interest.

The complete report of the Peace Conference Commission on International Labor Legislation was made public on April 28. A bill of rights has been drawn, including a statement on child labor: "No child should be permitted to be employed in industry or commerce before the age of 14 years. In order that every child may be insured reasonable opportunities for mental and physical education between the years of 14 and 18, young persons of either sex may only be employed on work which is not harmful to their physical development and on condition that the continuation of their technical or general education is insured." According to the present plan the international labor office would be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of its administrative organization. Among the matters scheduled to be taken up at the first conference is the employment of children; (a) minimum age of employment; (b) during the night; (c) in unhealthy processes. The greatest difficulty is likely to be met by the Labor Commission in the enforcement of international standards. How can an international tribunal, with representatives from all countries establish rules governing the internal labor conditions of the separate states? It has been suggested that the proposals should take the form either of recommendations

to be submitted to the various nations prior to being carried out by legislation, or of a draft convention to be ratified as a treaty. Manufacturers in this country will undoubtedly be less reluctant to submit to rules of this sort, applicable to their competitors in foreign countries as well as to themselves, than to local or even national laws which fail to regulate the importation of cheap-labor goods from over-seas.

The federal child labor law, passed by Congress as an amendment to the Revenue Act, was signed by President Wilson on February 24, 1919. It went into effect 60 days later, on April 25. There are three important inquiries with regard to this measure. In what way does it differ from the first federal law, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court last June? Will its constitutionality be affirmed, or is there a chance of its meeting the fate of the first measure? And how is it to be enforced throughout the states?

The text of the bill was printed in the February *Child Labor Bulletin*, together with a discussion of its passage by the Senate. The first child labor law was based upon the interstate commerce clause, and the shipment of child-made goods from one state to another was thereby declared illegal; such goods might be sold within the state and thus purely local industries were not kept from employing children below the standards established by the act. These standards were exactly the same as those established by the present law; no employment of children under 14 in mills, factories, canneries, or manufacturing establishments; no employment of children under 16 in mines and quarries; an 8-hour day and no night work for children between the ages of 14 and 16. But the new law is based upon the taxing power of Congress. That is, a tax of 10 per cent in excess of all other taxes will be levied upon the entire net profits from the products of factories, mines etc., employing children contrary to the specified standards laid down by the act. This will render such employment absolutely prohibitory, whether in local industry or not. Concerning the constitutionality of the law of course no promises can be made. As we go to press we learn that Federal Judge James E. Boyd of the western district of North Carolina, from whose decision the case concerning the first federal law



was appealed to the Supreme Court, has declared the present law invalid. He takes the ground that it seeks to accomplish the regulation of employment by indirection in the use of the taxing power and that it is an invasion of the states' regulatory authority. For the present the law will remain in force throughout the United States except in the western district of North Carolina. Experts believe that when this case is brought before the Supreme Court there is small doubt of its validity being affirmed, because like measures based upon the taxing power have in the past been sustained by the Court. The fact that it is part of the Revenue Act may also influence the Court's decision, as well as the strong reaction of public opinion against the throwing out of the first law.

The enforcement of the act is in the hands of the Treasury Department. It will be administered by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The Child Labor Division of the Children's Bureau, which was charged with the enforcement of the first federal law was disbanded on April 25. According to a statement by Commissioner Roper as to the administration of the act:

"While it is the purpose of the bureau strictly to enforce the law, its aim is to administer its provisions in a way to cause as little inconvenience as possible to the business world and to offer no injustice to employees.

"It is the intention to adopt, in confirmation of the age of the child, with certain restrictions as to revocation and suspension, the age certificates, working or employment certificate or permit, or other similar permit issued under the laws of the state. In some of the states where adequate laws do not exist this will not be feasible. These states are probably North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas. The plan is that federal agents are to visit localities in such states where establishments employ child labor and issue the certificates in person.

"The bureau will maintain a force of inspectors who are authorized to inspect at any time, any mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment. Collectors of Internal Revenue will remit the returns to the Commissioner, who will notify the person making the return of the amount of tax due.

"The penalty for failure to make a return or pay the tax within the time specified is a fine of not more than \$1,000. For 'wilfully refusing' or 'wilfully attempting' to evade the tax the penalty is a

fine of not more than \$10,000, imprisonment for one year, or both, together with the cost of prosecution."

Among the most important measures passed by the 1919 state legislatures is the West Virginia child labor law. Formerly this state regulated the hours of children's work only by the natural 24-hour day limit; its 14-year age provision was riddled with exemptions; its work permit system was ineffective; its implicit permission for young children to commit industrial suicide in its glass and other factories was a national scandal. This year, however, West Virginia put on the statute books a measure limiting employment in all gainful occupations at 14 years, with exemption for agriculture and domestic service only; prohibiting night work and fixing an 8-hour day for children under 16; strengthening the system of issuing work permits by requiring completion of the 6th grade, proof of age, and the employer's and a physician's certificate. Special permits will be issued for work outside school hours in business offices and shops for children over 12, and vacation permits to children over 14 without the educational requirement (completion of the 6th grade). This law places West Virginia where she should be—among the states that care enough for their children to give them the protection that has long been considered the minimum—no factory work under 14, no work in mines under 16, no night work and an 8-hour day for all children. Incidentally, in all respects save in the granting of vacation permits, the state law now conforms to the federal act which took effect April 25.

The bill did not, however, meet with unanimous approval, for Mr. Hough of the Senate inveighed loudly against it, on moral, physical, and educational grounds. As we believe this speech to be practically unrivaled in historical interest, as illustrative of an almost vanished point of view, we take pleasure in extending his opinions to our readers. After a brief historical sketch of child labor legislation in West Virginia, the Senator continued:

"The legislature of 1917 attempted to follow the federal child labor law, as we are now trying to do, but, understand, the Supreme Court has made some adverse rulings on the federal law since.

"The child labor law we now have before us is more complicated and its application will work a tremendous influence in shaping the



character, habits, and disposition of the growing generation in many ways in the wrong direction, on account of its impracticable application, and with its doctrine largely in direct conflict with moral laws that must be observed in caring for the growing child.

"The bill reads well, in theory sounds well, and has the endorsement of many clubs, societies and organizations, who often resolute for publicity and play to the popular chord, and I presume this legislature will enact this bill into law, notwithstanding not a single demand for this bill comes from the people whom the law is intended to benefit.

"In my life, I have been closely connected, in an executive capacity, with schools in country, town and city, and I have had much to do with their relation to industry as it affected the humblest family to the family of the millionaire, and I feel that the true education for the youth of today is in industry almost as much as in the school room, and the two should be more closely united under proper moral and civil regulations for the child. But this bill has the opposite effect and widens the breach between the study-room and the industrial training usually craved by the child.

"With my experience in a public capacity, I also have with it the domestic experience of raising a family of six sons, and I know the strict application of this bill would have been a handicap, and the strict application of the bill to family, school and industry, as they are related in the first senatorial district, will be impossible in the majority of cases coming within the perview of this bill . . .

"The present child labor laws can not be enforced in the first senatorial district, and I cite one case of four boys being denied five days wages to four different mothers, and five days of their schooling, and five days work and materials lost to employer, and if I had not accidentally seen these boys in their difficulty and helped them to meet the requirements of the law, they would have given up in disgust, or have broken the law by falsehood. This is one of many cases I could cite under misfit child labor law, which is nothing near as complicated as this bill, the practical application of which, I may say, is well illustrated in the picture drama 'Intolerance.'

"The children are not sold, but actually stolen and ripped from the mother's bosom by blind society in its craze for good and patriotic reputations.

"The demand for this bill comes mostly from clubs, societies

and organizations which are generally void of the practical experience of the application of the subject matter in this bill—composed mostly of misguided, well-to-do mothers, women not patriotic enough to own children, disappointed maids, and men lovers of the limelight—all illusioned to reform and save the American youth, but not charged with final responsibility like that of the senators who are obliged to answer for the good or bad in this bill.

“I conclude: The practical application of the bill will inculcate into the child disrespect for parent, instil idleness, indolence and laziness in the child, and disgust the American youth with civil laws hard to obey, that are out of harmony with moral law, and interfering with education he seeks and should have, to say nothing of the inconvenience, loss and damage to industry which it will work in the first senatorial district and in the state at large. I am convinced the enactment of this bill into law will be a feeder in disguise to the dangerous unrest now permeating the whole land, and I therefore vote against the bill—‘No.’ ”

Full information is not available concerning the fate of many of the child welfare bills introduced in the 42 state legislatures meeting in 1919. Many have not yet adjourned, and from other states it has not been possible to obtain copies of bills passed. It is apparent, however, that excellent progress was made. West Virginia's decision to turn over a new leaf is mentioned above. North Carolina also passed a child labor and education law, fixing the age for work in factories, mills, etc., at 14, and abolishing the poverty exemption in the education act; in this state the juvenile court law recommended in the National Child Labor Committee's report, *Child Welfare in North Carolina*, also went through. South Carolina made its education law state-wide and it looks at the date of writing as if Florida would follow her example. Oklahoma raised the compulsory school age to 18 (16 if regularly employed), and appointed a children's code commission to study the state laws and administration and report back to the legislature. Another southern state, Texas, passed a bill establishing an Industrial Welfare Commission.

The West and Middle West also give evidence of the change in the attitude of the law-makers toward problems of child welfare. Arizona provides for continuation schools, making attendance compulsory

for 150 hours per year, to be taken from the employers' time. Oregon is a second, Utah a third and Iowa a fourth state making provision for part-time schools. In Iowa there is to be a 40-hour week for children under 16 years in districts where there are such schools. Messengers in cities of 10,000 population must be 18 years old to work after 10 o'clock at night. North Dakota has included mines in the list of occupations prohibited under 16 years, and has passed a street trades law. South Dakota created a Child Welfare Commission. Though Indiana failed rather dismally in most of her efforts to obtain better protection for children, the legislature appointed an investigating commission on child welfare and social legislation.

For the North and East, New Hampshire passed a bill reorganizing the educational system. New Jersey was a fifth state to legislate for continuation schooling. As in Iowa the work hours are to be limited in districts where such schools are established, in order to allow time for attendance out of the employer's time.

There were hard fights in several states where bills failed to pass at the end—notably Texas, California and Indiana. But so far as can be ascertained, in only one state was anything done to lower the existing standards. Vermont passed a bill exempting from the hours restriction manufacturing establishments dealing with perishable products; in other words, children may henceforth work in canneries more than 8 hours a day.

The recent report of the English joint industrial conference of employers and employees, in many respects one of the most important documents arising from the present industrial world crisis, devotes a paragraph to child labor. "The committee are of opinion that child labor is bad in principle and in practice tends to decrease the chances of adult employment. For these reasons, without going into details, the committee think that the age at which a child should enter employment should be raised beyond the present limit." The present limit in England is 14 years. While this appears on first consideration, to be a gentle sort of recommendation, other proposals are an 8-hour day for all employed persons, with necessary exceptions, and a minimum rate of wages. Both of these would react in favor of the elimination of child labor, both through the provision of a living wage for the head of the family,



and through the natural desire of employers to obtain labor worth the established rate. The reduction of working hours would apply to adults and children alike. The present extent of unemployment in England, as in this country, is a potent argument for the demobilization of children in industry.

Soviet Russia, through its representative here (the Director of the Commercial Department of the Bureau of the Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic) makes the statement that as soon as trade is resumed only those manufactures will be purchased from the United States that have been made under conditions favorable to the workers. Among the undesirable commodities are sweat-shop products and goods manufactured by child labor. In Russia itself child labor in industry is to be abolished, according to the plan of the government. While the government will strive to eliminate the exploitation of children as laborers, the educational program includes productive work in the schools and in connection with the schools as one of its most striking features. From 13 years up, "there is possible an easy but real labor outside of the school . . . The school, without losing sight of the youngster, protecting it from harm, turning each act of its labor to the benefit of its general physical and mental development, will lead it into the very tangle of social productive work . . . The actual specialization, the transition to the vocational preparation, is, in the opinion of the Commissariat, admissible only . . . beginning with the age of 16."

Mexico, it is reported, is enforcing its new labor law; unhealthy and dangerous occupations and night work in factories are forbidden to all women and children under 16 years; they may not work in commercial establishments after 10 at night. Children between 12 and 16 are not allowed to work more than 6 hours a day, and the work of a child under 12 years of age shall not be made the subject of a contract.

The program of the German Teachers' Association, according to the *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung* for February 15 reads as follows:

"A uniform school from the kindergarten up to the university; unrestricted right of every child to education according to its ability and willingness to pursue higher studies, regardless of the parent's wealth,

position, and creed; free instruction and school accessories; free maintenance and clothes for necessitous children; extension of compulsory education in the common and continuation schools up to the age of 18; abolition of all church supervision, and compulsory religious adherence for teachers and pupils; removing from the teachers' duties any purely church function; inspection of the school work by professional men thoroughly familiar with it; uniform training and salaries for all teachers; full citizenship for all teachers; guarantee of freedom of teaching and professional independence of teachers; a federal department for schools and education assisted by a Council of Education; uniform administration of public schools with complete self-government; advisory and authoritative bodies in all the grades of school administration; constitutional guarantee of these demands in case the federated state constitution remains in force."

The child labor law of Argentina provides that minors under 16 shall not work more than 8 hours a day in dangerous occupations, or between the hours of 9 p. m. and 6 a. m.; children under 13 shall not be employed in industrial establishments. Children under 16 years must obtain a work permit. During the period 1914-17, according to the Department of Labor of Argentina, 98.5 per cent of the children applying for permits were between 12 and 15 years of age. There were 17 of 10 years and 146 of 11 years. In 1917, 38 per cent more children of school age sought permits than in 1916.

The Report of the Back-to-School Drive Committee of New York City includes in its recommendations provisions for scholarships, more visiting teachers, additional continuation schools, additional attendance officers, more census enumerators and the extension of vocational guidance. With regard to the effect of the vacation employment law on the truancy problem of the city—which formed the basis for the committee's investigation—the opinions of school principals are about evenly divided. Those presiding over schools in good residential districts are in favor of the law. But those having schools in poor neighborhoods where the economic pressure is serious would like to see the law wiped off the statute books. They assert that it has caused them infinite trouble to get these children back to school and that many of them are still out.

"In conclusion it must be admitted that from the limited viewpoint of a 'Back-to-School' drive only, the drive was not successful, as it was



unreasonable to expect that children legally qualified to work and holding positions which paid them abnormally high wages would relinquish their newly won independence and voluntarily return to school. Out of the whole number investigated only two children—boys—were found who were willing to do this, provided scholarships could be provided, and one of them, on subsequent reconsideration, decided to remain at work.

"But, though the Back-to-School drive was unsuccessful, the work accomplished by the 'Stay-in-School' drive was distinctly satisfactory. Many children were dissuaded from their expressed intention of leaving school at the completion of the sixth grade. The interest of others in vocational and trade schools was stimulated and several transfers were effected so that children whose interest in a purely academic course had flagged might be enabled to enter industrial classes. These cases were handled chiefly through the various vocational guidance committees and followed up by the investigator. In other instances, scholarships were forthcoming to make further school available. Illegal employment, when found by the investigator was reported to the proper authority and the child returned to school. Tenement home work, a powerful agent in retardation was frequently found and conditions reported and remedied. It was found on one occasion that when all the persuasive powers of the vocational counselor had failed to impress the mind of a boy who had determined to leave school on February 1st the simply worded statement of a former scholarship holder who was sent to see the boy prevailed. A large group of cases has been referred back to the Chairman with the recommendation that further follow-up work be applied and arrangements have already been made to give this group special attention during the remainder of the school term."

In March a statement was sent out by Mr. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, in which he said,

BACK-TO-SCHOOL  
SCHOOL PULL  
IS NEEDED

"The child labor problem can never be solved without recognizing the fact that the schools actually drive children into industry." Mr. Lovejoy took the position that prohibitory child labor laws and compulsory education are not alone sufficient to constitute a solution of the problem.

"The majority of children," he said, "leave school just as soon as the compulsory education laws allow, and a majority of those who go from school to work do so just as soon as the child labor laws allow. Why do children leave school at the earliest opportunity? Not so often because their parents force them, as because they themselves want to leave. All the notable studies made in the last ten years of the reasons why children under 16 go into industry concur in the conclusion that the two main reasons are economic

pressure and dissatisfaction with school, and many persons who are in close contact with these boys and girls find that dissatisfaction with school is the more common reason.

"The fact is that the typical school does not hold the interest and allegiance of its pupils. We grown-ups defend ourselves by saying that it is all the children's fault, thereby putting the blame on somebody smaller than we are, which in this instance is an unintelligent as well as cowardly thing to do. To accuse children of a lack of interest in school is to accuse ourselves. If we made the school seem real and practical to the children it would hold them, and certainly the school ought at least to seem real and practical."

Mr. Lovejoy referred in particular to the "overworked machinery and machine-methods" of the modern school, "its cut-and-dried, traditional curriculum, its failure to allow for and provide for individual differences in children, its failure to give the work impulses the same scope in school that the children seek in other places, and its failure to give the social instincts the same scope that they have out on the playground.

"A large part of the difficulty lies in the niggardly attitude of the public in the matter of school equipment and fair salaries for teachers.

"The school," Mr. Lovejoy continues, "has been irresistibly driving children into industry—usually without vocational training or guidance. Industry has had the pulling power. Now we are engaged in a Back-to-School Drive, necessitated by the enormous exodus from the schools during the war. But the school lacks pulling power, and in scores of towns and cities it is being found next to impossible to get any of the boys and girls to return, even though a good many have lost their jobs. It would be a great help in the present campaign, from the standpoint of child labor reform, if in addition to the 'driving' there could be more 'pulling'—in other words, a Back-to-School Pull. And instead of trying to build a fence around the school so high that children can not jump out, why not make the enclosure attractive enough so that they will want to stay in?"

Mr. Lovejoy's statement aroused interest in many quarters, as indicative of the new emphasis placed on the child labor movement in these days. The *Pittsburgh Sun* says: "In broad view this criticism of American schools is just. We are still handicapped by a

system that tries to force the same medicine down all throats . . . . It is child nature to resent restraint, and if schools are to be made popular, schoolmen must devise a more flexible system than those that now prevail."

The Oakland, California, *Enquirer* asks, "While we are at work overhauling many institutions worn out or proved antiquated; while we are in a general house-cleaning mood, why not put the school under the microscope of the public eye? Certainly something is the matter. Perhaps the sociologists are right. If they are, let us heed them; if they are wrong let us find out what is right, and remedy it. Can anyone find anywhere a normal child of average intelligence who will admit that he likes to go to school? Try it and see."

The Women's City Club in cooperation with the New York Child Labor Committee is conducting an intensive inquiry into the conditions of tenement-house child labor in New York City. The thoroughness with which the Committee conducts its inquiries will make this report of great value. We shall be curious to learn whether the Committee has discovered some method by which employment of children can be regulated in tenement house employments or whether their conclusions justify the conviction we have long entertained that child labor can not be eliminated while tenement house manufacture continues. Our objections to the turning of crowded rooms into factories were summarized several years ago as follows:

1. The goods occupy room the children need.
2. Tenement house workers constitute an inarticulate army unable to organize or improve their industrial conditions.
3. Tenement house manufacture endangers the public health by the impossibility of protecting goods from the germs of contagious disease.
4. The regulation of the employment of children is impossible unless the state is willing to provide one inspector for each tenement for each 8-hour shift in the day since the business continues over a 24-hour day.
5. The employer instead of carrying the legitimate overhead charges of heat, power, light and rent distributes these costs among the ignorant and hopeless victims of his system and is thus able to



underbid manufacturers in other cities who produce goods under proper conditions in well constructed factories.

No evidence has thus far been produced to alter our opinion in this matter.

In connection with Dr. Barth's article appearing in this number, it is interesting to note that the Wisconsin Industrial Commission has formally adopted the following resolution:

WISCONSIN DEMANDS  
PHYSICAL FITNESS

"Resolved that the commission will in the city of Milwaukee hereafter pursue the policy of requiring proof of physical fitness to enter employment before any regular child labor permit is issued, and

"Resolved Further, that in order to secure evidence of the physical fitness of children who apply for regular child labor permits, the commission will require a detailed statement of the condition of the health of such child at the time when it applies for a permit, from the Health Department of the city of Milwaukee, the School Hygiene Department of the Board of Education of Milwaukee, or any other competent physician of general practice, such report to be made upon Form B-12."

That Wisconsin may soon be expected to be one of the states having effective regulation of street trading is the opinion of the Industrial Commission of that state. The law of 1918 makes it prohibitory for boys under 12 or girls under 18 to sell newspapers and periodicals in all cities, instead of in cities of the 1st class only, and includes in its provisions newsboys selling papers on their own account. Further, all boys under 17 must obtain a permit from the board of education in order to engage in street trading, and they are prohibited from such work between 5 a. m. and 7:30 p. m., and during school hours. The Industrial Commission is making every effort to see that this law is strictly enforced, and it is helped in this by the fact that a boy without a street trades permit can recover treble compensation from his employer, under the 1917 Act, if injured. The newspapers therefore have a personal interest in employing only those boys who hold permits. "Still more important," says the Commission's report, "is the fact that in these cities no boys under 12 years of age are now engaged in street trades where formerly boys from 7 years up were engaged in selling newspapers.

ENFORCING  
THE STREET  
TRADES LAW  
IN WISCONSIN

## BREVITIES

The National Conference on Social Work will be held at Atlantic City, June 1-8.

Cincinnati is going to continue the Social Unit. The Mohawk-Brighton district conducted a unique community referendum, and its citizens by a vote of 4,034 to 120 voted in favor of continuing the block system of community organization.

The establishment of a juvenile court for Charlotte, North Carolina, is scheduled for the near future, according to reports. The last legislature created the necessary machinery.

The New York Board of Education is going to hire a lawyer and accountants and spend \$25,000 to investigate itself. That will be more than adequate. It doesn't cost everybody \$25,000 to find out what is the matter with the Board of Education. For one thing it only costs five cents to find out that there are a quarter of a million children on part-time in New York City schools, at least 100,000 children suffering from malnutrition, and that the \$50,000 appropriated last September and ready to use last January 1, for the purpose of *experimenting* in school lunches is still lying in the treasury.

The North Continuation School in Pittsburgh illustrates the modern movement for continuation schooling. There are now in attendance about 2,200 boys and girls ranging from the sixth grade through high school. They form two groups; those who liked school but were forced to leave, and those who disliked it and sought work as a means of escape. Children may go to work at 14 years of age, but must attend the continuation school till they are 16. They attend 8 hours a week and the classes are arranged on a four hour basis, attendance being usually for one full day or for two half days.

News has just been received that the Missouri legislature has passed 25 of the 51 bills recommended by the Children's Code Commission.



# The American Child

A Journal of Constructive Democracy

Published Quarterly

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## Contributors to this Issue

Julia C. Lathrop is Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of labor. The Bureau conducted the Children's Year campaigns including the Back-to-School Drive now in progress, and it is at Miss Lathrop's invitation that the International Conference on Child Welfare was recently held in Washington.

George P. Barth, director of the Department of School Hygiene, Milwaukee, has been active in the campaign for physical examinations for school and working children. Dr. Barth's article on Health Supervision of the Working Child was printed in the November, 1918, *Child Labor Bulletin*.

John B. Andrews, Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation, is a prominent writer on economic subjects. He is editor of the *American Labor Legislation Review*, and joint author, with John R. Commons, of *Principles of Labor Legislation*.

Theresa Wolfson is special agent of the National Child Labor Committee. She has recently been doing work in New York City in connection with the Back-to-School Drive.

## UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

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RUTH MCINTIRE

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Do we have a system of universal education in the United States? This is not a flippant nor an idle question. Have we a universal system open to every child, free to every child, calculated to give every child a fair start in life? We are not leveling criticism at the lack of compulsory education laws, at the lax administration of such laws, or even, at this particular moment, at the economic system which forces children of certain classes into premature work or ill fits them physically to take advantage of the schooling provided. But we have supposed till now that given the desire to learn, and given the freedom from work, every child in this country had a chance for education. Within the last few months, however, reports from various large cities are causing people to wonder seriously what we offer in education to the insistent needs of children. In New York City alone there are a quarter of a million children on part-time—a quarter of a million not able to receive, no matter how much they want it, the education that the state requires by law for every child. There are not enough teachers, and there are not enough seats for every child to have one reserved for himself alone. The *Pittsburgh Post* likewise reports, “While members of the Legislature are accused, in their efforts to create more jobs, of aiming to provide a seat for every politician, 20,000 school children in Philadelphia are reported on half-day sessions. In Pittsburgh there are a few children being similarly cheated.” That is one difficulty, or rather two—no room, no teachers.

A third serious aspect is presented in the truancy reports. Even when there is room, apparently the children are none too eager to take advantage of it. A total of 253,195 cases of truancy were investigated in Philadelphia in 1918. There has been an increase of 86 per cent in the number of cases reported to the Bureau of Compulsory Attendance in the last five years. The situation is now such that there are neither enough truancy officers nor enough institutions

and truant schools to take care of the number. The Public Education Association of New York City says in respect of the situation, "In competition with other appeals to the imagination and varying tastes of growing children, the existing school has little to offer. One sits, mostly, and absorbs. Spontaneous self-expression too often is not invited, if not, indeed, suppressed. Little or no opportunity is afforded for the play of growing muscles that ache for action. The minds of children differ as widely as their faces. To win them, to hold them willingly, the appeal must be made to their individual interests. Large classes, the lack of adequate equipment, the rigidity of over-minutely prescribed courses of study, the inflexibility of school programmes, the inevitable fatigue and loss of enthusiasm of overworked and underpaid teachers, have all contributed, among other causes, to make children not want to stay in school."

For lack of teachers, there is only one effective remedy. Double the salaries and give freedom to teach effectively, without the incubus of an inflexible and tradition-bound curriculum or of a rigid standard of achievement in terms of text-book pages and formal examinations. With regard to the lack of school buildings or rather of "a seat for every child" the situation is perhaps more puzzling. The cost of building has about doubled in the last two years and it is a question if we shall for a long time catch up on school-houses. Experiments have been carried on for several years, however, in making full use of the school plant, and the success of the duplicate plan would point to this as a probable solution. So far as children's objection to the existing school system is concerned, a solution of the teacher difficulty will help. But much more than this is needed. Boys and girls prefer work to school because it brings them wages, because it gives them a feeling of responsibility, because they think they will be free from being talked at, and will have an opportunity for independence and experiment in the adult world. It is at least pertinent to ask ourselves, and it may soon be imperative to do so, whether we can not give children in school the things they seek without literally driving them out into industry ill-equipped to resist exploitation because they have never been allowed responsibility or initiative.



## STOCK TAKING IN CHILD WELFARE

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EDWARD N. CLOPPER, Ph.D.

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Our conceptions of things are often cramped and inclined to run in grooves. We are in the habit of fashioning them according to well-established models, of conventionalizing them, so to speak. Mention a convict, and we think of a close-cropped, cow-licked, stripe-clad wretch. Speak of a vampire, and we visualize a sinuous, dark-eyed lady in a tight-fitting gown and droopy hat, wearing a languid air and a bunch of orchids. Refer to a child laborer, and we picture to ourselves a pale, stoop-shouldered, flat-chested, 10-year-old spinner in a southern cotton-mill. So with a prize-fighter, a preacher, a physician, a farmer, a politician, death, time, good, evil—each is fitted in our fancy to a type or symbol which we label the true representative of its class and file away in our memory for ready reference. And we instantly protest whenever a portrayal on paper, film, or stage runs counter to our model, as in a movie court-room scene, if the man on the bench does not meet our specifications for the type, we murmur: "Huh, he doesn't look much like a judge." These types and symbols usually were born of conditions and customs of the past, and it makes no difference whether any of those conditions and customs persist in our day—the pictures in our imagination are inalterably fixed.

When the term "child welfare" chances to fall from the lips of a speaker, his listeners at once think of a poor little, ragged, sobbing child whose mother is dead, and whose drunken father aims a blow at him with one hand and clutches a bottle of rum in the other, while the agent of the charity society stands with upraised arm and shields the helpless child from the ferocity of the unnatural father. This insistence upon reducing classes of people and kinds of work to the narrow limits of these conventionalized images interferes to a marked extent with our appreciating new developments and the full significance of what is going on in the world. The convict in stripes is archaic, but we cherish such insignia in the face of

modern penology. Even our speech is couched in terms of the long ago—a steamship “sails” from a port; one “drives” his automobile, and “writes” a letter on his typewriter. So with child welfare service—it is commonly thought of as the protecting from cruelty, the rescuing from iniquity, the relieving of poverty—while the safeguarding of health, the providing of recreation, the requiring of attendance at school, the regulating of work conditions, are generally looked upon as independent and unrelated undertakings. Inevitably, division of labor has split up social service just as it has split up manufacturing, but, curiously enough, the term “child welfare” has come to have in the popular mind a somewhat restricted meaning, as the care of the dependent, the protection of the neglected, the correction of the delinquent, and the training of the defective, which are the subjects concerning children most conspicuous in the programs of the National Conference on Social Work. And so discussion of school matters is largely confined to meetings of the National Education Association; of health matters to meetings of the American Public Health Association and medical societies; of employment matters to conventions of the National Child Labor Committee; of recreation matters to conferences of the National Playground Association.

The workers in none of these fields come into contact with those in the other fields either at conventions or in the course of their work, sufficiently to bring out that clear understanding of the connection among their several efforts, which would result in concerted action on a broad program of correlated activities. Health, education, recreation, and suitable employment, however, concern all children, and most boys and girls are not dependent or destitute or neglected or abused or delinquent or defective, but are normal in respect of parentage and their relations to society. It follows that these four great essentials, affecting as they do all classes of children, the fortunate as well as the unfortunate, are of paramount importance. But they cannot be secured to children by their parents alone—the state and the community are chiefly responsible in this matter through the laws they enact and the steps they take for promoting health, schools, play and proper work under good conditions. So it is that the normal child is to be considered in any welfare program as much as those who are unfortunate by reason of want, abuse, broken homes or bad environment.

The normal child, living in a place where the local authorities fail to take ordinary health precautions, where schools are neglected and where there is no local pride in keeping the town abreast of modern methods in sanitation, housing, fire protection, street beautifying, public school improvement and other civic undertakings, is denied the advantages commonly afforded to delinquent boys and girls in reformatories, and to the feeble-minded in the special institutions established for their care. It used to be said that the only way a youth could get vocational education was to commit a crime and be sentenced to the reformatory—the only place where it was provided. Although this happily is no longer a well-founded charge against the public schools, it is true that in proportion to their numbers, more thought and effort are devoted to the welfare of our unfortunate children than to that of our normal boys and girls. And yet it is the latter who are to carry on. This is not written in a spirit of deprecating this devotion to the interests of our dependent, neglected, delinquent, and defective children, for this work must be maintained and extended, but in a spirit of fairness to the great majority of our children who while enjoying the blessing of home life, are, nevertheless, subject to the public provisions for health, schools, recreation and labor restriction—matters that lie quite beyond the individual control of most parents. The responsibility is upon the state to protect the interests and advance the well-being of the normal child no less than to attend to the needs of the unfortunate.

The body of laws we have constructed for the benefit of children is made up of parts whose relationship has not been recognized. The health laws have been placed upon the statute books mainly through the agency of societies and individuals interested primarily in this subject and having little or no connection with other undertakings in behalf of children. Similarly, labor laws, school laws, and general protective laws have been separately enacted. As a natural consequence, administrative agencies set up for putting all these laws into effect, function without much regard to the bearing that one part of the program has upon the other parts. After years of such spasmodic and individual effort it becomes necessary to assemble the parts and fit them together, so that this increasingly important and elaborate machinery for child care may operate smoothly and effectively. In this respect the state is somewhat in the position of a merchant who takes stock from time to time, going over the goods



he has on hand and seeing what is shopworn and what is out of style, and what needs to be done in order to meet the present requirements of his trade. Some of our laws have been outgrown because of changed conditions; certain situations arise for which there is no remedy on the statute books; and parts of the system have been supplied without much thought of the real character of this business of safeguarding the interests of boys and girls. This taking stock in the child welfare world has come to be known as the movement for children's codes, but as a matter of fact, the children's code as developed in the United States is not a code at all, but consists simply of the standardizing and coordinating of laws relating to children and the improving of the machinery set up by state and local communities for their administration. Conflicts in their provisions must be removed, standards must be made as nearly uniform as possible, the development of the welfare idea must be encouraged, and above all, law observance must be promoted through making administration more effective and harmonious. In all this work, and it is a work exceedingly complicated and requiring skilled treatment and unremitting care and patience, the needs of the normal child are entitled to just as much consideration as the needs of the ones stricken in body, mind, or estate. For the main purpose of the people is to bring up children to be good men and women. Ohio, Minnesota and Missouri are the only states that have so far put their child welfare laws and procedure upon a sound and rational basis through the medium of children's codes. But others are working toward this end, and in a few years we may confidently expect this taking stock in the business of looking after the welfare of children to be generally under way in our country. It is not something that can be done at a desk by merely piecing together laws that have been written, but requires thorough knowledge of conditions and of standards and practices in vogue both in the state concerned and elsewhere. In order to furnish an informational basis upon which the action of children's code commissions may rest, the National Child Labor Committee in recent years has made comprehensive studies of conditions in the different fields into which child welfare work commonly falls, and at the request of state universities, official agencies, and social service societies, has published the findings of such inquiries in book form, together with discussions of how the laws apply or fail to apply to conditions found and of how administra-

tive agencies function in putting these laws into effect. The recommendations made by the committee in such reports have already been of use to state legislatures and officials in the improvement of laws and administrative methods. It is with the welfare of all children in mind and not of a special class that this work is being pursued, and it is believed that such studies will do more than anything else to bring home to the people of the country the fact that child welfare is not limited to rescuing orphans from dens of vice, but concerns the present and future of every child, yours and mine, rich and poor alike. It is only in this comprehensive way that justice can be done to these, our helpless wards.

## THE NEW HUMANITARIANISM

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RAYMOND G. FULLER

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The humanitarianism of child labor reform—its spirit and motive—is becoming further socialized. More particularly, it is becoming patriotic.

Humanitarianism as human sympathy, instinctive fellow feeling, is primarily social in origin. But above the social instincts there is social imagination, and beyond social amelioration, social construction. The child labor reform movement is characterized to-day, as never before, by this social vision and purpose; its spirit—what I choose to call its humanitarianism—is dominated by its aims generically known as social aims. Subjective feeling has not been displaced, however, by objective thinking; the two have united in the new humanitarianism of child labor reform. Satisfaction is consciously sought in social construction and not merely in social amelioration.

The intellectual, socially purposive element in the humanitarianism actuating child labor reformers has been stronger—and longer present—with the leaders than with the great body of reformers. To the mass of people the term “social,” in connection with social aims, has seemed somewhat vague, and these aims have often been called “visionary” in derision. The word was too broad to compel popular understanding for indeed, the speakers and writers themselves often used it with little understanding. It had no punch; it made no appeal; it failed to grip the imagination. So the word “social” remained—a word!

But something has lately happened that has translated the word and thereby illuminated it, clarified it, enlivened it. That something is the war. From the standpoint of social reform a great gain has been registered by the fact that social aims can now, much more easily than before the war, be identified with national aims. The war, accompanied by discussions of cooperative undertakings such as a League of Nations, has wonderfully enhanced national conscious-



ness. National thinking, as opposed to local or parochial thinking, has been stimulated. The patriotic imagination is active and it can be kept active. A highly important task now is to preach the gospel of peace-time patriotism. In peace as in war, service to country is needed—service to the ideal America. The war is over, but peace has only just begun.

Service to the ideal America implies, more than anything else, the promotion of democracy. The war, beside developing the nationalistic spirit, has in many ways added to the demand for greater human justice in our social and economic arrangements. Social reform as a task of patriotism is in tune with the psychology of the times. Humanitarianism and patriotism can be harnessed together.

They were harnessed together during the war, in a nationally spirited way. Loyal support in divers forms was given the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army and various other organizations, not solely because their work was a work of relief but also because it was a work of preserving and developing morale among both civilians and soldiers. It was a work that conserved and increased man-power—which is qualitative and quantitative—man-power for America and for American ideals. It was constructive work, felt and known to be such by the whole American people.

In the tasks and duties of peace America needs morale. America in the days that are now beginning needs man-power. Morale and man-power depend in large measure on conditions of democracy, on social justice, social reform. In this respect child labor is a handicap to the nation, for it is an injustice to adult workers as well as to its immediate victims. Injustice and the sense of injustice weaken morale. Child labor directly lessens man-power by its manifold evil effects on body, mind and morals. A patriotic humanitarianism as the dominant motive in child labor reform is idealistic and constructive and up-to-date.

The war has popularized the idea of man-power, which is conspicuously a national conception. The humanitarianism of man-power, of human conservation and development, of better human relationships, is the new ideal that is bound to swell the ranks of the child labor reformers as the old humanitarianism of pity and tears can not do. That old humanitarianism of pity and tears found its satisfaction in the relief of the individual exploited child, in his

rescue from cruelty and abuse, in his deliverance from bondage. Prematurity of labor was regarded as largely a question of physical hardship and injury, or perhaps as an infringement of the child's rights through his deprivation of a fair opportunity to get an education like that of other boys and girls. The time for pity and tears has not yet passed; the time for lamenting the lifelong injury done to individuals through child labor has not gone by; but the time has arrived when the cause of child labor reform will make its widest, if not its strongest, appeal to the patriotic humanitarianism of the American people. And this humanitarianism is concerned with man-power.

What makes a nation great? Man-power, man-power of intelligence and enlightenment, man-power for industrial and commercial prosperity but man-power also for the purposes and practices of democracy. What makes a nation great? Sometimes we say, "An educated citizenship." But education means physical education, intellectual education, vocational education, moral education; it means from the national standpoint, the development of man-power.

A patriotic humanitarianism will abolish child labor because child labor is not educative and because the education of all the children is demanded for the fulfillment of national ideals and the making of the ideal America. The abolition of child labor will be looked upon as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. Neither will man-power be regarded as an end in itself, but rather as a means to the further progress of democracy and social justice within America and throughout the world. The new humanitarianism will become the new patriotism.

Ideals of manhood, womanhood, nationhood, no less than pure humanitarian feeling, are the inspiration of the legislative attack on child labor. Child labor reform is the business of statesmanship, in which all intelligent, well-informed and thoughtful citizens are bound to participate. "To think," said William James, "is the moral act." There is a moral obligation to be intelligent and informed. The uninformed and the unthinking must be reached through publicity, propaganda, education. Writing of the conservation of material resources Professor Richard T. Ely says: "The need is intellectual and moral education—a better vision and more altruism. We need a keener social consciousness and new state-

sense, if we are ever to solve the problems of conservation." A keener social consciousness is developing through the growth of national consciousness. A new state-sense—what is it but a better-informed, a more thoughtful, a more imaginative patriotism? A new state-sense applied to the problems of *human* conservation—that is the meaning of the new humanitarianism.



## EAST IS WEST\*

RUTH MCINTIRE

The literary fiction that East and West are distinct, apart in viewpoint and customs, never to be joined or mutually assimilated, is giving way to an appreciation of the fact that the Orient and the Occident may on the contrary never again exist independently. Chinese coolies, native Indian troops, and American doughboys have joined the men of western Europe in a common enterprise. While coolie labor repaired the roads in France for a western campaign, American labor was forging the weapons for eastern exploit. And this was not the effect of emergency, but a sign of the gradual interpenetration of the two cultures.



LITTLE CHINESE GIRL CARRYING  
LOAD

In all the Eastern countries modern industry has grown with tremendous strides in the last fifty years. We can not escape, if we would, our industrial relationship with Japan, China, and India. And we can escape as little the effect of their industrial conditions upon our own conditions of labor and living. When a child labor tariff was discussed a few years ago, a manufacturer stated that "excluding the import of child labor products from Japan would practically mean the exclusion of all their textile products." Many others declared themselves strongly in favor of such a tariff, since our restrictions on the employment of children placed them at a disadvantage in competing with eastern industry. Apart from a purely humanitarian desire for the welfare of the millions of exploited and submerged populations of the East, it is a fact that so long as the 12-hour day is there the accepted thing, so long as children of 9 years up work under the killing surroundings of factory life in India, Japan, and China, it will be difficult to establish in America the conditions that we believe to be just and necessary—purely on immutable economic grounds.

\* Photographs by courtesy of Methodist Centenary Commission.

It is true, however, that cheap labor does not necessarily make for cheapness in production. It is estimated, for instance, that it costs three times as much to build a locomotive in Japan as here. And when it comes to freight hauling the cheap man power of China costs one hundred and sixty-six times as much as the high priced man and machine power of the United States. The high cost of low wages is something that we learned late and that the East has still to appreciate.

The story of factory conditions in Japan reads very much like the descriptions of early industrial expansion in England, and for that matter in the United States. In 1911, Japan's first and only national factory law was passed. Under its provisions children under 12 are forbidden to work, and children under 15 may not work later than 10 at night or before 4 in the morning, nor for more than 10 nights in succession, nor where poisonous gases are generated, *nor more than 12 hours a day except when "necessary."* Truly a mild measure. Yet the manufacturers begged for a period of five years in which to adjust themselves to these sweeping reforms, and in 1916, when the law was due to take effect the capitalists again asked for postponement.

The population of Japan is predominantly rural. Into its relatively peaceful, sane life there has burst the industrial awakening,

which has received even greater impetus since the beginning of the war. Consequently the factory workers of which the majority are women are in great part recruited from the rural population.



JAPANESE NEWSBOY

It is common for girls to be contracted for by their parents at an

early age. At 12 or 13, on leaving the primary school, these small girls are sent into the large cities, where they are barely able to earn a living though they work from daybreak till 6, or till 9 or 10 at night when the pressure of work is heavy. The cotton mills run two shifts of 12 hours each, The dust, the heat, and the lack of ventilation are described as appalling. Added to these conditions the girls are commonly housed in dormitories in the mill itself and their rent and food must be paid to the mill owners. It is easy to understand why in one factory in Osaka there was reported a daily accident toll of 50, out of 1,000 employees. Out of 1,350 girls examined and weighed the loss of weight of those employed on the night shift was from  $1\frac{1}{4}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  weekly. In no case did these girls regain what they had lost, while on the day shift. Of the 200,000 new girls entering the factories yearly it is estimated that 13,000 return because of serious illness, chiefly tuberculosis, before the year is over. Statements agree in putting the average life of cotton mill operatives at from 5 to 6 years after entering the mill. Mr. Willard Price says: "The factory population can not be said to be deeply appreciative of the industrial opportunity afforded to Japan by the war. Japanese country life is being swept into the cities; it is put through the mills and comes out warped and colorless. Often it is completely destroyed in the process. It is estimated that every year a third of a million people are brought from the freedom and healthful conditions of the country to the congested factory quarters of the city."

In spite of these conditions girls are glad to enter the factories as a welcome change from domestic service. Children from poor families, 10 to 15 years old, are engaged in the homes of the middle and upper classes as *komori*, or baby-tenders—which reminds one of the system prevailing in the poorer quarters of some of our large cities, where children are hired out of school hours to tend babies while the mother is at work. In the country, the children help in light farming and in caring for the babies, very much as in all rural communities, while the boys of 15 and up help their parents in the fields. Agriculture is so largely done by hand that every possible worker must be used.

The silk industry is now turning from an essentially home industry, in which the worms were carefully reared and fed in small crops, to a factory industry. But from various accounts it is evident



that in Japan, as here, the factories bring their own accompaniment of sweated home work. For instance the manufacture of snap fasteners, which started in Tokyo after the war began, is partly a home industry, in which women and children are employed. In the factory the women operate the presses, while children feed the fasteners into the power machines and assemble the parts. The fasteners are commonly "carded" (as buttons are in this country) in the homes of the laborers, who operate on a piecework system.

Education, until 1908, was compulsory only from 6 to 10 years of age. This period has now been extended to cover 6 years. Consequently the education law, if properly enforced, is calculated to coincide with the age for entering industry.

In India the development of industry has been less sweeping, but it has produced its quota of child labor, as in Japan. An accompanying cut shows different members of a family all working in a jute mill, just as in our southern states the whole family goes into the cotton mill. After the beginning of the war the jute industry was reported as very prosperous; it is said that many mills commenced the full double shift of  $13\frac{1}{2}$  hours, while others employed the single 11-hour shift. Wherever factories have sprung up in India child labor is to be found—in jute, cotton and silk mills, ginning factories, biscuit factories, and paper mills. The last factory act (1911) resulted from the excessive hours reported in the cotton mills where workers had been employed for as many as 15 hours a day. Children are considered adults at the age of 14, and their hours of work limited to 12 a day. Prior to employment as half-timers and later as adults they are required to obtain certificates of age and physical fitness. No child may work more than 6 hours in textile factories, nor are children between 9 and 10 years allowed to work more than 7 hours per day in other industries. Women and children are prohibited from night work.

As the Act of 1911 provides for 14 factory inspectors only, as there is no system of universal compulsory education in India, and as public opinion is by no means strong in the matter, it is natural that the law should be eluded, as competent observers inform us it is. The Indian Factory Labour Commission (1908) reported "most serious abuses in textile factories. In the United Provinces generally (with few exceptions) children have been habitually worked during the whole running hours of the factories, not on

the excuse that they were over 14 years of age, but in pure disregard of the law," According to the last government report, out of a total of a quarter million workers employed in jute mills, 10 per cent were children, that is, under 14, we are to infer. In cotton mills the proportion of children was even higher—13 per cent.

As in Japan, 90 per cent of the labor in the Bengal jute mills is recruited from rural districts. The workers live in huts around the mills, and the only means of education provided are the schools set up by some of the mill owners. Where children are employed as



ALL THE FAMILY WORKS IN THE JUTE MILL

half-timers, certain mills have established the custom of having an early shift and a late shift for different sets of children; these attend school before going on the late shift and after coming off the early shift. But this is not the general policy. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916–18, says with regard to education: "The first thing to do is to introduce compulsory education in areas where this is feasible, applicable to all classes of children and not merely to those employed in factories." But the education recommended is one with an industrial bias, calculated to train the children

for the factories, not for more ambitious careers. In December, 1917, an act passed by the Bombay Legislative Council empowered municipalities (other than that of Bombay) to declare the education of children between 6 and 11 years compulsory, subject to certain safeguards, and to raise funds to meet the necessary expenditure. It was left to be decided in the first place by the school committee and in the next by the magistrate before whom a case is brought, whether the employment of a child is of such a nature as to interfere with its efficient instruction. It is quite evident that the government of India is still a long way from the modest ideal of free universal education and protection for young children. In fact as a writer on this subject, W. I. Chamberlain, says: "For financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight, the government of India has refused to recognize the principle of compulsory education; but it desires the widest possible extension of primary education on a voluntary basis. As regards free elementary education, the time has not yet arrived when it is practicable to dispense wholly with fees without injustice to the many villages, which are waiting for the provision of schools." Out of a school population that runs to over 100,000,000, only a little over 4,000,000 boys and less than 1,000,000 girls are receiving primary schooling.

How difficult it is to judge the needs of another country by those of our own is illustrated in the case of China. With a school population running to tens of millions, but 3,000,000 children receive an elementary education. There is about 10 per cent literacy among men and from 2 to 3 per cent among women. Wages are low, and the work is predominately rural. On account of the overpopulation of the country, the problem is chiefly to employ as many as a given business or piece of land will support. Hence children are not employed in native industry to the extent that might be supposed, since labor is cheap and adult labor more efficient. Nevertheless practically all children are put to work at an early age, at home, in the fields, tending the cows and the water-buffaloes, in the shops as unpaid and overworked apprentices—and in the large treaty ports where the factory system has entered with the foreigner.

In the cotton mills of these industrial cities child labor is largely used. The mills run 24 hours in the day, on two 12-hour shifts. Children 7 years old and up and women work full-time. Gangs of children may be seen early in the morning going through the streets



of Shanghai to work in the cotton mills, and back again at night. There is no restriction on child labor, either for ages or hours of employment. One factory owner who wanted to change to an 8-hour shift found himself faced with bankruptcy, as other owners refused to cooperate in bettering conditions in the mills. Children are also employed by the great silk and tea companies.

The problem of child labor in China as in America, is largely educational. While in the United States the kind of education that



IN ONE OF THE COTTON MILLS OF SHANGHAI 500 CHILDREN UNDER 12 YEARS OF AGE ARE SAID TO BE EMPLOYED

will draw children out of industry into the schools is needed, in China the kind of education that will free the new generation from the traditional forms and so fit him for better labor conditions is the primary need. It is said that the whole child problem hinges on this question, as there is a set-back of two full years due to the difficulty of mastering the characters that make up the written language. After a few years away from school a large part of these are forgotten. The Chinese system of education with its reverence

for literary style makes universal education practically impossible. Recently, however, the government has invented a phonetic alphabet of 39 letters; as spoken Chinese is a simple language, it will be possible, if this can be successfully introduced in the schools, to make the Chinese nation literate almost over night. For this, however, the written language must become increasingly like the spoken.

Another essential is the development of a new type of school. The old type necessarily dealt with the production of men of literary



CHILDREN DECORATING POTTERY—CHINA

ability. The new type must be adapted to the 90 per cent who do not seek literary or civil careers. The Sociological Department of the Baptist College of Shanghai is now studying the problem of adapting the proposed type of education to the prevailing economic system. It is felt by workers in this field that education is the first, primary problem, without which very little can be accomplished in China.

The industrialism of Japan spread westward from America, that of China and India eastward from Europe. These countries

look to the United States, England and France increasingly for new methods, machinery, and efficient management. There are signs that better thought in all these countries also looks to us for protective measures for the people as a whole, lest the sudden rise of industrialism catch them even in greater degree than it caught England in the 19th century in the storm of competition and labor exploitation. Newspapers and periodicals seize upon western news, quoting the progress made here and in Europe for the protection of women and children, and for the furtherance of education. Commissions are sent from the East to study these questions. Meanwhile eastern manufacturers watch the progress of western industry, and swear as did our manufacturers here, that reduction of hours means reduction of output—that to better laboring conditions would mean bankruptcy under the competition of European and American industry.

These conditions mean two things. First, unless Asia learns that cheap labor is dear labor, and that in sacrificing the lives and the education of children to industry she is killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, she will wake one day as England did at the time of the Boer War, and America in lesser degree in 1914 to find that as Macaulay prophesied her "overworked boys will become a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a more feeble progeny." Secondly, to prevent further squeezing and oppression on the part of eastern employers, America must help lead the way in setting high standards in labor, education and further child protection.



## CHILDREN'S YEAR AND THE FUTURE

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JULIA C. LATHROP

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The Children's Bureau and the women connected with the organizations which made up the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense agreed, as a war service, to put through a child welfare program for the second year of America's participation in the great war. With the earlier features of that program—the weighing and measuring test, which surprisingly resulted in the examination of over 6,000,000 children, and the great amount of public and private follow-up work which resulted—I think the public is fairly well acquainted. The last activity of the Year, which is still going forward, is the Back-to-School and Stay-in-School Drive in which it is the endeavor to make clear that children who had left school for the sake of high wages without family necessity were wasting an irretrievable opportunity and should be encouraged to return to school at once. We have also tried to show that the question of re-employment of the soldiers ought not to be confused or made more difficult by the presence in industry of young persons who could and should be in school. In this we have been in accord with the English policy which has been expressed in periodicals.

It was felt that there should be at the end of this year a statement which should serve not as a conclusion but as a beginning; that some standard should be set up, or at least sought, which would be common to the needs of all children and which could be translated into law and local activities in such manner as the differing methods of states might make possible and practicable. Hence it was decided to conclude Children's Year with a series of conferences to be held in May in as many of the principal cities as practicable. These conferences are necessarily to be brief and will be devoted to discussions of tentative standards of child welfare, health, nurture, education, work, and the care of special types of children.

In order to secure the greatest possible degree of interest in the subject, it was determined to invite to these conferences child welfare authorities from abroad who had been closely occupied in the protection of childhood during the war period. This country, of course, has escaped the strain of war as Europe knows it; it is stronger and richer than any other country, and it therefore owes more to itself and to the world than any other country. It has made no great national advance during the war although it is safe to say that it has lost little ground—thanks to the national effort which was expressed in *Children's Year*. We are ready for a great advance. The simple recital of the fearful struggles which were necessary abroad, the ideals for children which were conceived and the laws which were enacted to express those ideals by people who have been themselves engaged in the effort will certainly stir Americans to a stronger sense of sympathetic comradeship with Europe and to a greater sense of responsibility at home.

The conferences as now planned will be held in the following cities: New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco. The Washington meeting will be little more than a round table conference, since the overcrowded condition which has prevailed here since the outbreak of the war still forbids the calling of large meetings.

# HEALTH SUPERVISION OF WORKING CHILDREN\*

GEORGE P. BARTH, M.D.

Medical inspection of school children has attained a place of considerable prominence in child welfare problems but there is a strange apathy manifest in extending to industrial children the same care as is extended to school children. In a recent questionnaire sent out by the United States to all the large cities of the country it was found that medical inspection of schools was in operation in every state in the union even though all states did not have medical inspection laws on their statute books. There are not many cities now that leave to the parents of school children the entire responsibility for the health of their children. A number of states follow this up by requiring children to be examined by a physician before a permit to work can be secured, but with the exception of New York state, after the child goes to work no medical authority is charged with the duty of ascertaining the effect of employment on his health, and even the New York law leaves much to be desired.

The following are the present state provisions for the issuance of labor permits:

## ISSUING OFFICER ALONE DETERMINES PHYSICAL FITNESS (5)

Colorado	Oregon
District of Columbia	West Virginia
Wisconsin	

## NO PHYSICAL RESTRICTIONS (21)

Alabama	Philippine Islands
Alaska	Porto Rico
Arkansas	South Carolina
Georgia	South Dakota
Hawaii	Tennessee
Kansas	Texas
Mississippi	Utah
Montana	Vermont
Nevada	Virginia
North Carolina	Washington

Wyoming

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\*Reprinted from *The Wisconsin Medical Journal*, Vol. No. 9, XVII, February, 1919.



## ISSUING OFFICER MAY CALL IN PHYSICIAN IN DOUBTFUL CASES (11)

Connecticut	Maine
Florida	Michigan
Illinois	Missouri
Indiana	Nebraska
Louisiana	North Dakota
Oklahoma	

## PHYSICIAN MUST DETERMINE PHYSICAL FITNESS (14)

Arizona	Minnesota
California	New Hampshire
Delaware	New Jersey
Iowa	New York
Kentucky	Ohio
Maryland	Pennsylvania
Massachusetts	Rhode Island

Most child labor laws have protected the interests of the child as far as two important considerations are concerned—the age qualification and the educational qualification before issuing a labor permit—but the most important of all, the physical and mental qualifications of the child to enter the industrial field have been overlooked by practically all agencies responsible for making these laws.

Of the 88,444 children examined in the Milwaukee Public Schools since 1913 there were found physical defects serious enough to require correction in 10,851. The proportion in which these defects were found are as follows: hypertrophied tonsils 22.57 per cent; adenoids 1.73 per cent; defective nasal breathing 3.03 per cent; defective teeth 66.10 per cent; defective vision 23.76 per cent; defective hearing 0.476 per cent; orthopedic defects 1.2 per cent; pulmonary disease 0.26 per cent; heart disease 0.94 per cent; nervous disease (not mental) 0.55 per cent.

These percentages can not be regarded as absolutely correct however as in the examination of the children at school no clothing is removed and the defects are so evident that they are easily manifest to the trained observer. They are sufficiently accurate however to show that a real economic problem exists among children.

A personal examination of 745 children who appeared before me for a physical examination for a working permit (in Milwaukee,

many school principals will not sign the application of a child for a working permit unless its physical condition is first determined by the school physician) resulted in the withholding of the permit in 205 cases pending the correction of the physical defect.

Of 30,244 children 14 or 15 years of age who applied for working employment certificates examined in New York City from January 1 to September 30, 1915, the following were found with physical defects:

Defective nutrition.....	2.37 per cent
Acute eye diseases.....	1.30 per cent
Defective nasal breathing.....	2.90 per cent
Hypertrophied tonsils.....	8.62 per cent
Pulmonary disease.....	.17 per cent
Deformities.....	.54 per cent
Defective vision.....	15.10 per cent
Defective hearing.....	.95 per cent
Defective teeth.....	32.85 per cent
Defective palate.....	.68 per cent
Heart disease.....	1.16 per cent
Nervous diseases.....	.28 per cent

In 1916 in New York City there were 545 children refused employment certificates on account of malnutrition; 425 cases with cardiac defects, and only three cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. Temporary (or easily remediable) defects caused the refusal of certificates to 946 children. These defects included defective vision, hearing, teeth and greatly enlarged tonsils, and contagious skin disease.

Statistics on the effect of industrial life on the growth and development of children are sadly lacking but an investigation by the Maryland Bureau of Statistics and Information which issues the permits for Baltimore City, examined in one year 1,500 boys previously employed in factories and found 93 serious occupational defects.

Of 100 boys who averaged 15 years of age in Baltimore, who have been employed in factories for an average of two years each, it was found that their average height was nearly one-half inch lower than the standard for 15 years of 5 feet 1 inch; their weight was 92<sup>52</sup>/<sub>100</sub> pounds as against a normal average of 106<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> pounds and only 58 per cent were of pubic age.

Of 800 bakers examined in New York for the army and navy, 57 per cent had some disease or defect; of a similar number of tailors the percentage was nearly 63 per cent; of 203 printers and 1,600 food handlers, it was only a little below 70 per cent. Of a group of 2,086 male garment workers practically 100 per cent were affected by some disease or physical disability.

For such ailments as defective teeth, defective vision, diseased tonsils, rhinitis, spinal curvatures, and flat foot, numerous occupations show proportions ranging above 25 per cent, sometimes above 50 per cent.

To say that the existence of any such great amount of ill health and physical disability among the nation's industrial workers is a serious matter is merely to state a truism. Even though these disabilities may not, at least in their earlier stages, cause extended absence from work, the tax thus imposed on efficiency must be a heavy one. Obviously, maximum efficiency, can not be obtained from a force of workers one-fourth of whom are suffering from such disabilities as defective vision, nasal disorders, and deformities, or whose health is being steadily sapped by tuberculosis, alcoholism, or venereal disease.

It becomes obvious that some form of supervision of the health of growing and developing children should be instituted.

Wisconsin is in a splendid position to lead all states in the union in the proper care and supervision of its permit children and to obtain the data so important and so much desired of the effect of industrial life on the health and physique of the child.

With a law requiring every community of 5,000 population to establish a continuation school and a permissive clause for those under 5,000 and a compulsory attendance law for the continuation school, the state can ill afford not to take advantage of its opportunities in promoting the welfare of the growing boy and girl. This can be done by establishing an adequate health supervision system in these schools providing for a frequent and systematic examination of all children working under permit, that is, from 14 to 18 years of age.



## SOCIAL INSURANCE AND CHILD WELFARE

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JOHN B. ANDREWS, PH.D.

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The relation of social insurance to child welfare is a more intimate one than first appears. Indeed a study of workmen's compensation and of health insurance, which figure in the foreground of American legislative thought to-day, reveals the fact that social insurance and child welfare intersect in many interesting ways. A clearer understanding of the relation of these issues should be fruitful in helping to direct public policy and in making for a harmonious cooperation among those who are interested in these aspects of the common welfare.

The term "social insurance"—meaning collective protection of the wage earner against the economic hazards of life—is just finding its way into popular use in this country. Not a little confusion has existed as to what particular forms of insurance were "social." This was not to be wondered at because all insurance is mutual or social activity, consisting of the distribution of individual losses over an entire group. This insurance principle has long been accepted and extensively used in eliminating certain of the economic hazards in the life of the property owner. But even more important than for the property owner is insurance for the workingman. Under the present industrial organization the wage-earners are subjected to exceptional economic risks. The suffering and want which follow accident, sickness, invalidity, premature old age, and unemployment are for those who depend entirely on their wages from week to week, continual and vivid possibilities. Against these "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" the worker has but a single defense—insurance. If he loses his physical strength, if he is denied the chance to work through the maladjustment of the labor market—unless he is adequately insured he lacks the only thing that can stand between him and destitution.

Yet in the face of all these hazards the wage-earning masses do not readily insure themselves. There are several reasons for this,

the most important of which is obviously insufficiency of income. It is established beyond need of additional proof that a real surplus in the life of the workingman is a rare occurrence. With the present cost of insurance it is small wonder that the workers, in the face of so many immediate and compelling needs, hesitate to spend their money for contingencies that may never arise. Furthermore the value of the insurance principle is not always appreciated by the lower paid wage-earners. Yet even where the insurance principle is understood and valued, among the careful and thrifty, the excessive cost of private insurance often makes it a forbidden luxury.

The failure of the underpaid masses to protect themselves against the many hazards of life presents a serious social problem. The problem extends far beyond the suffering and want of the individual wage-earner. It involves his wife, his children, the industry of which he is a part and finally the state, upon whose care both he and his family may ultimately be thrown. It becomes therefore the concern of the progressive state to provide, by legislative enactment, a form of insurance which shall, at the lowest possible cost adequately protect the wage-earners from economic risks. It is natural to term this insurance provided by society for the needy group in the community, *social insurance*. Through this insurance the life of the worker is stabilized; he is liberated from the haunting fear of destitution; his right to life, liberty and happiness is made more effective.

It is obvious that the child must profit by this stabilizing effect of social insurance, for it is often the child who figures as the center of the tragedy when some catastrophe comes to the breadwinner of the family. In the unhappy cycle of events precipitated by an accident, a serious illness or a long period of unemployment, when the small family savings are swept away, what is more inevitable than that the efforts of the child should be enlisted to save the family from debt or destitution? Yet what a heavy price the community pays in the injury done to the development of these children, from whom the workers of a few years hence must be recruited.

Already in the United States workers are protected against the loss due to industrial accidents in all but seven southern states. Many of the workmen's compensation laws are inadequate both as to promptness and certainty of payment and as to scale of compensation, yet each year these laws enable thousands of families to keep

together and to tide over the period of hardship. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in a study of the effect of workmen's compensation laws in relation to the industrial employment of women and children reports one widow whose husband was killed by an industrial accident as declaring that she could never stay down-hearted very long because her sister cheered her up by saying "Look how much better off you are than if he'd a died natural." A Polish widow, when questioned as to her views on workmen's compensation replied "My God, what would I do without it?" The report goes on to state that "her award was only \$5.75 a week, but as she had four children under 14 and earned but \$3 a week herself by taking in washing, her emphasis was pardonable."

Important as is insurance against accident it is less far reaching in its effects than insurance against sickness—health insurance as it is termed in this country in order to emphasize the preventive aspects of the plan. To-day the greatest fear in the life of the working man or woman is the fear of sickness. Seven times as much destitution is caused by sickness as accident, and against the ravages of disease the ordinary worker is helpless to prepare. For sickness takes away the worker's wages with one hand and with the other presents him with bills for medicine, for doctor or surgeon and for nourishing food to build him up. Sickness is like a two-edged sword and cuts both ways. "In all countries, at all ages it is sickness to which the greatest bulk of destitution is immediately due," say Beatrice and Sydney Webb. Under the storm and stress of this destitution the child does not escape unscathed. He may be too young to be sent to work, instead he may be sent to an institution or left to the haphazard attention of a well-meaning neighbor—or allowed to run the streets. But there is no vicissitude of family fortune that does not leave its trace upon the sensitive organism of the child. In the pale wan look of the little girl we may often read the illness of her father.

The present method of handling sickness among wage-earners has been well described by Warren H. Pillsbury of the California Industrial Accident Commission, when comparing the cost of the present method of handling industrial illness with the cost of health insurance.

"The workman becoming ill, struggles to remain at work as long as possible to avoid loss of wages and refuses to go to a physician until the



last moment because of fear of expense, thus preventing treatment at the time it is most effective, the early stages of the illness. When finally obliged to leave work, the income of himself and his family is ended. His savings will seldom last for more than a week or two of idleness. He then becomes a charge upon relatives, friends, and public charity. Worry over his financial condition prolongs his illness. Inability to procure necessary medical and surgical appliances or to take proper rest or sanitarium treatment delays recovery. The children are taken from school prematurely and put to work without adequate preparation or allowed to go upon the streets. Eventually he may go to the county hospital for a long period of time, and his wife will be taken care of by the Associated Charities, or will undertake work beyond her strength and become ill. The employer has to break a new man into the work. The community, friends or relatives have to support the family, and the man is inefficiently and haphazardly taken care of because of lack of organized social endeavor to meet the problem presented."

The accuracy of Mr. Pillsbury's description is readily confirmed by a study of the cases aided by charity organizations. These organizations report that from 50 to 80 per cent of their relief goes to families in which sickness is the chief factor in the plea for help. Greatly as these cases differ in outward appearances they all present one fundamental need—the need of medical and financial aid in the sickness crisis. A case recently referred to a New York charity organization is one of many that might be cited to illustrate in detail how pressing is this need. Anton W. was a butcher's assistant earning \$18 a week. He was taken seriously ill with pleurisy and was sent to the hospital leaving his wife and three children without any means of support, except \$2 a week which the wife earned by taking care of a neighbor's child. Desiring to keep her family together the wife added to this income by doing night ironing for a near-by laundry. During the day she took care of the children. Under the strain of this extra work, however, her health gave way and she became ill. The oldest child, just 15, was then taken from school and put to work in a factory where she earned \$5 a week. The neighbors tried to care for the wife and the young children. The case was finally referred to a charity organization and a weekly allowance was given the family to tide over the hard period—much against the protest of the wife who objected most strenuously to becoming an object of charity.

With this sickness case it is interesting to contrast the aid supplied a family through the workmen's compensation law in New

York State. A Russian, Vladimir K., was working for a boss carpenter when he fell through the floor of the building and was instantly killed. He was survived by a widow, a mother and three children. The family had accumulated no savings, the three children were all under five, the widow was frail and the mother was almost an invalid. Utter destitution would have faced this family had it not been for the workmen's compensation law. Through the insurance fund Vladimir's family was paid \$15 a week. They also received \$100 to pay for the funeral expenses. It is hard to estimate in terms of human values just how much the weekly cash benefit meant to that family. Certainly no statement in financial terms can do justice to an arrangement which made possible their very existence as a family unit.

A large number of men and women of widely varying interests are to-day demanding that this protection afforded to workers in case of accident be extended to cover cases of sickness. In response to this demand, nine state commissions have been appointed to study sickness in relation to the wage earner and to suggest methods of control. Eight of these have reported. They all agree that the present handling of the sickness problem is inadequate and five commissions have already recommended compulsory health insurance as the best method of solving the problem. Over 40 state and international labor organizations have come forward to urge health insurance and the demand in New York State for this type of legislation was so insistently voiced and by such a large number of organizations that as a result the health insurance bill passed the Senate on April 10, 1919.

The health insurance plan provides for the establishment of mutual health insurance funds under state supervision. These funds are supported by equal contributions from the workers and employers and are to be democratically managed by a committee on which both sides shall have equal representation. In time of sickness the insured employees receive medical and surgical treatment and supplies, dental care, and hospital or sanatorium care when needed. The more liberal health insurance plans extend this medical care to include the members of the insured employee's family. To meet the necessary living expenses which continue whether a worker is sick or well, a weekly cash benefit is provided and a funeral benefit of \$100 is given to the family in case the worker dies. For working

women and wives of insured men medical and obstetrical care is provided and for the working women a cash benefit for two weeks before and six weeks after childbirth. In view of the 15,000 American women who die every year from causes connected with childbirth, and the 250,000 babies who die during their first year, these maternity benefits are of the utmost importance in the fight for race conservation. Miss Julia Lathrop in pointing out the close relation of infant mortality to pre-natal and confinement care says that we cannot rest content "until we are assured that skilled care is available to every mother. To-day we know that few mothers can secure it." "No system of health insurance is complete which ignores maternity insurance," says Miss Lathrop in another connection. Health insurance by its maternity benefits provides for the welfare of the child before as well as after the child is born.

"Nothing is so devastating in the life of the worker's family as sickness," said Governor Smith in his first message to the New York Legislature. Significant and true as is this fact it is not the only reason why health insurance is marked as our next great step in social insurance. It is because we are beginning to understand that the public health standard of a community is the most important index of its general well-being. The fearful waste of human energy resulting from the lack of adequate medical care can be tolerated in a progressive community no longer. Miss Mary Beard, President of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing in endorsing Health Insurance said: "The future to me seems to be typified by a vision of opening doors." The figure suggests the many doors that are still closed to the American workman and his family. Surely the first door which should be opened in the new era is the door marked Health.



## LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITIONS OF CHILD LABOR

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OWEN R. LOVEJOY

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Hitherto we have more or less unconsciously employed the sliding scale in relation to child labor standards. We put prohibition of night work in West Virginia, which had an extremely low all-round standard, on very much the same plane of achievement as establishing an 8 instead of a 10-hour day in Connecticut, which had relatively high standards. That is, it has been natural to work with almost equal enthusiasm for high standards in states where the demand for them was strong and for much lower standards where the demand was less or where it was lacking. And when those standards were established we worked for still higher ones. We used the sliding scale in accordance with the age-old theory of demand and supply. This theory in economics is fallacious. And it is time to discard it in social work. It is time to consider solely the individual, for what is right for the individual is right for industry and society and the world at large.

Arguments have been used to prove that child labor is not economical; that it is fatal to labor because it lowers wages; that it is not in harmony with efficiency for the manufacturer; that it is not conducive to the education or to the physical health and vigor of the nation.

Now it is time to talk of the child, and in turning to the child it is evident that really very little account has been taken of him. We know that work can't be good for his health, but we don't know scientifically how bad it is for him, what are the effects of different kinds of work upon his development, or at what age it is, physically speaking, permissible for him to enter industry in general.

A few states theoretically make physical examination of children when they leave school and apply for work permits, but the fact that they have not been subject to systematic physical examination during their school life makes this examination of almost negligible value. Furthermore, up to date not a single one of the forty-eight

commonwealths requires systematic physical examination of children between 14 and 16 years of age who are at work. America has not even had the intellectual curiosity to try to find out what industry does to our children.

Further, though certain studies have been made of child nature and psychology and that of adolescence, we do not really know what the child needs mentally and spiritually. I think it is time we applied ourselves to this task. We know that nearly half the children who leave school in order to go to work do so because they are tired of school, because they dislike the teacher, "did not get on," or prefer to work. Why does this common phenomenon of revolt against school appear so regularly at the age of 13 or 14? Is it the fault of the child or of the school? Are we willing frankly to face the fact that the elaborate and formal school system built up by us adults on behalf of children is not acceptable to the beneficiaries? That perhaps they could point a way to its improvement? *What in short are the needs of children?*

It is evident that in order to fix our standards, this question must first be answered. But until the studies can be made, and they never can be finished, for as science advances new light will continually be thrown upon one of its most interesting and baffling problems, certain minimum legislative requirements should be set up—to be established as soon as possible in the more advanced communities, and to be approached for the present as a limit in states whose citizens demand less protection. A reasonable minimum age for entrance into industry would be 16 years. This should apply to all common work, such as factories, mills, canneries, offices, stores, laundries, restaurants, and all the miscellaneous occupations entered by children. It should be a flat minimum that is, for all gainful occupations with the one exception of agriculture. Eighteen years should be the minimum age for work in mines and other especially dangerous industries, and 21 the age for morally dangerous work such as falls to the lot of night messengers in our cities. There should be periodic examination of all working children to see that they are not being broken down in health, and means adopted for their transfer to less harmful industries or their removal from industry altogether. Such an examination, made not less than once a year, would in a short time show just what are the industries and operations which induce excessive fatigue, predispose to disease

or lead to stunted growth. As to hours of employment the regulations recently proposed by the Commission on International Labor Legislation for insertion in the Peace Treaty and adopted by the Peace Conference in Paris, April 28, offer a suggestive basis. The Sixth Article proposes "The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development." The term "abolition of child labor" is so indefinite that unless light were thrown upon it by other portions of the statement, it would have little more effect than similar declarations in our own national political party platforms. Fortunately however, the Commission speaks with a definiteness that leaves no room for doubt. The Fourth Article proposes "The adoption of an 8-hour day or a 48-hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been obtained," This limitation of hours does not relate to child labor which according to Article Six is to be entirely abolished. This 8-hour day, 48-hour week refers to labor in general—to the protection of men and women—to those of mature physical development. The corollary is obvious and it has already been recognized under existing conditions by the adoption of an 8-hour day for children in states where the limitation of hours for men and women was 10, 11, or 12 hours, or perhaps where no limitation existed. The principle underlying this discrimination in the interest of children assumes that the growing, developing child subjected to industry should have the burden laid on gradually rather than all at once. That if men and women need protection children need more protection. But now we face a new condition for certainly America with its natural resources and abundance of enterprise can not afford to stand on a lower plane than the one proposed in this international labor compact. If an 8-hour day measures a desirable social limitation for the labor of men and women, then an 8-hour day is too long for the labor of children. For the first two years at least—namely from 16 to 18 years of age—no child engaged in ordinary industrial processes should be employed to exceed 6 hours a day. Therefore we should propose as the maximum industrial burden that restriction of hours to 6 per day and prohibition of night work under 18 years should of course form part of the program. Obviously this program can not be put into immediate effect at least so long as excessive industrial burdens are



laid on the shoulders of half-starved mothers, and so long as our schools persist in "teaching" instead of educating our children. It would be absurd to force law-making ahead of the standards that public opinion can maintain. But they are suggested as those that in our educational and legislative work should undoubtedly be our object.

Although approximately three-fourths of working children are employed in agriculture, this is one of the most difficult of all occupations to regulate. Farm-work is undoubtedly harmful when accompanied by exploitation as in the Colorado beet-fields and the southern cotton fields, and yet work about the home farm on a variety of occupations, or work for a neighbor may be highly healthful and instructive. The most serious objection to this form of work is that it almost invariably tends to keep the child out of school for more or less of the short period that rural schools are in session. The child gradually falls behind his normal grade, one year, two years, or three years. He is both ashamed and bored at being forced to study with younger children on matters that are too elementary to hold his attention. Retardation leads to further retardation, and to early dropping out altogether.

The trouble suggests the cure. While it might be unfair and would undoubtedly be quite impossible to enforce a law directed against the employment of children on farms, we can raise the educational standard in rural communities, and we must do so at once if we wish to retain our rural population and our agricultural soundness.

The condition of our rural communities not only affects our social and civic institutions. It strikes at the very foundation of economic prosperity. Ten per cent of the rural population can not read an agricultural bulletin, a farm journal, a thrift appeal, a newspaper, the Constitution, their Bibles, answer an income tax questionnaire, or keep business accounts. Secretary Lane says "We spent millions of dollars in presenting to the country the reasons why we were at war, and more than 10 per cent of the money that was spent was spent fruitlessly, because the people who got the literature, who got the speeches, who got the appeals, could not understand one word that was written."

One thing that draws boys to the city is the call of life and human intercourse and better facilities for knowledge. If we can in some

manner endow our country schools with vitality, man them with teachers earning and getting a living wage, introduce the spirit of community effort and give scope for the instinct of workmanship—and then create and enforce adequate compulsory education laws, we shall have eliminated the worst evil of children's employment in agriculture. We shall at the same time be building up an educationally equipped and consciously effective agricultural and land-minded population.

Continuation schools and laws compelling employers to allow time for attendance by their employes under 18 years of age should be the reverse side of our child labor law. But it is very difficult to confine oneself to legislative prohibitions when the whole trend of child labor and education work in this country is in the direction of construction rather than prohibition. Our enforced laws, however good, however effective in keeping children out of industry and in school will avail very little unless we provide a better substitute than work and a better school system and curriculum than the one in vogue. And here we return to the question of children's *needs*. Let us by all means work for the minimum standards which common sense and our industrial experience justify, but let us at once begin the campaign for the scientific determination of the physical effects of work, through regular physical examination of school and working children. Let us by all means encourage educational experiments, especially those which seek in some way to satisfy the craving of youth and adolescence for real work, for learning through doing, and for wage-earning. If we can finally eliminate the two evils of being taught on the one hand and being exploited on the other, we shall have touched the heart of the problem. It is possible that this may be done by bringing work into the schools or taking the schools out into the world of adult endeavor and labor; by substituting for our industrial training, education through responsibility and initiative in different kinds of hand and brain work. Such experiments will inevitably lead to a better understanding of child nature and to an interpretation of its unexpressed demands.

## WHY, WHEN, AND HOW CHILDREN LEAVE SCHOOL

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THERESA WOLFSON  
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Because of the relaxation of child labor laws in 12 states, the annulling of the federal child labor law, and the increased demand for labor, the flow of children from the schools to the industries was inordinate during the war period. Each transport carrying soldiers across, taking them out of the normal fields of activity, meant an exodus of boys and girls from the schools into the industrial fields to take their places. This extraordinary amount of child labor was in addition to the usual numbers leaving school.

The Children's Bureau in order to cope with the situation instituted the Back-to-School Drive in cooperation with the local Councils of Defense, Women's Clubs and social agencies. It was an official recognition of an industrial as well as social crisis. The war was over and the men were returning only to find their positions filled.

The backward pull is no easy task—*facile est descensus Averno*. Not only did the children find it difficult to take up school routine again, but in many instances they refused and it was perfectly natural that they should.

The following study of the why and wherefore of the exodus from school was made from the latest school reports of representative cities throughout the country. The standards required by each of the communities are not identical and hence it is difficult to compile statistics and deduce an accurate statement, but from the information given it can be seen that something more is needed than mere compulsory attendance laws to force the child into school and child labor laws to force him out of industry.

### WHY CHILDREN LEAVE

What are the reasons which children themselves give for leaving school? In a survey made of 1,168 children leaving school in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1917, 439 left because of personal illness, 29 because



of illness in the family, 33 because of financial conditions, 6 because of physical defects, 18 because of sheer indifference, 156 left the city, 304 went to work, 181 left for miscellaneous reasons and 2 because of failure to get promoted.

In the Iowa report of 1918, 4,913 work permits were issued in the biennial period of 1916 to 1918. 24.62 per cent were working in vacation time only. Of the total 24.91 per cent claimed necessity as the reason for leaving school caused by lack of work of father or sickness or death of either parent. 21.7 per cent gave dislike of school as their reason for leaving. Many of these were found to be retarded pupils. To this latter number can be added 9.85 per cent giving preference for work to school, as their reason. These are the ones who desire spending money for clothes. 14.6 per cent are at work because of parental influence, 4.31 per cent compose a group giving poor health, weak eyes, too nervous to study, as their reasons.

In a similar report in Baltimore, of 3,695 children leaving school to go to work, 2,365 reported "economic pressure" as the reason, 336 gave "unsatisfactory school conditions," 657 "wanted to work," 14 "to keep occupied," 44 "parents want child to work," 263 left for miscellaneous reasons and 16 for reasons not stated. Over one-third of the number leave school because of a dislike for it, a larger proportion because of economic pressure, and the small remainder for miscellaneous reasons.

In the 1917-18 report of Pasadena 1,214 children left school during the year. Of this number 877 left the city, 181 left because of ill health, 57 went into private or business school, 55 went to work, 8 alleged inability to get along or lacked interest; the remainder left for various known and unknown causes. Curiously enough the health factor seems to be the cause for the largest number of drop-outs, which occurs largely in the first five grades.

Shifting the attention from the extreme West to the south-central part of the country we find that out of 1,487 employment certificates issued in Louisville, Kentucky, 875 were given on account of economic necessity. This is approximately one-half of the total: 124 children disliked school, 159 preferred work to staying in school. The latter reasons of general dissatisfaction with school comprise 20 per cent of the total.

The states considered in this survey are those having good school laws as well as child labor laws. However, in North Carolina where

both laws were negligible, a study was made of 130 children found in various occupations. A number of 11-year-old children left school because they "wanted to work," "had to work," "had headaches in school," "didn't have to go to school." Of the 12-year group, 12 boys were working because they "wanted to". One youngster had been arrested for stealing and didn't want to face his companions. Another declared "he didn't learn anything, anyway."

We find as a result of this study that alleged economic necessity is the largest factor in withdrawals from school. But there is often a psychological reason for so large a proportion of "have to go to work." In most communities the child knows the law affecting his interests. If he has left school and is working illegally he will be quick to conceive of some plausible reason to substantiate his position. Instinctively he feels that nothing will "get across" so quickly as the poverty plea. He does not hesitate to use it although detailed investigation of family resources often proves that it is not justified by fact.

Following close behind this reason, is that of dissatisfaction with the school. It is useless to pass child labor laws to pull the child out of industry and force him into school unless something adequate can be substituted for the forces which drew him into the industrial field. Mothers' pensions and scholarship funds fail of their purpose in alleviating financial distress if the school holds no attraction for the child. The frequency of "want to work" as a reason for leaving school especially in the 13 or 14-year-old child is more fundamental than the sheer desire to earn money. The "call" is one which involves the use of energy in creative work—in accomplishing something useful in the work-a-day world—in getting away from the academic, and, as far as their immediate environment is concerned the unreal. Can not the child be so interested in a school planned to meet the demands of his nature, as to want to attend without drastic measures to compel him?

#### WHEN CHILDREN LEAVE

When do the children leave school? It is of great interest to note in what grades and at what ages withdrawals occur. There are specific age and schooling requirements in most states which must be complied with before children leave. In Indianapolis the child must be 14 and must have completed the fifth grade. Of 1,480

working certificates issued 398 boys and 318 girls were 14 years of age and 438 boys and 326 girls were 15 years. The grade distribution was as follows:

20 boys and		12 girls were below the 6th grade.	
213	"	"	109 " " in " 6th "
235	"	"	154 " " " " 7th "
134	"	"	74 " " " " 8th "
234	"	"	276 " " " " High School.

Thirty-two certificates were issued to children who did not meet the requirements, on the ground that they were mentally deficient.

Of 3,195 permits granted in Baltimore, 38 were issued to children below the fifth grade. 1,250 were granted to children in the fifth grade, 1,124 to those in the sixth, 668 to those in the seventh and 540 to those in the eighth. Approximately one-sixth of the certificates issued were to children in the last grade of school and over one-third were issued to children as soon as they could get them.

Forty boys and 22 girls who had passed the fifth grade received work permits in Iowa, where the law requires a child to complete the sixth year in school and be at least 14 years of age. Of 1,522 permits issued, 74.5 per cent of the boys from 14 to 14½ years of age were retarded in school and 84.8 per cent from 14½ to 15 years were retarded. It was found that the largest number of drop-outs began in the sixth grade and continued to the eighth.

In Louisville, Ky., 25 per cent of the children receiving work permits completed the fifth grade, 28 per cent completed the sixth, 17.5 per cent the seventh, 20 per cent the eighth and 9.3 per cent were in high school. The school and grade table of the Iowa report shows that permits were issued to 66 boys and 23 girls who had only passed the fifth grade; these are therefore contrary to the strict letter of the law.

Of 6,621 certificates issued in 1917 in St. Louis, Mo., 21 per cent of the children left school as soon as they reached the fourteenth year; 78 per cent left school before they graduated and more than 40 per cent have not completed the sixth grade. In Cincinnati of 1,888 certificates issued 3.6 per cent were to children below the fourth grade; 74 per cent were pupils in the fifth grade, 21 per cent were in the sixth, 23 per cent were in the seventh, 100 boys and 209



girls not having the required qualifications received permits because of mental retardation.

In Providence, Rhode Island, 2,778 certificates were issued of which number 211 were to children in and below the fourth grade and 69 to pupils of ungraded classes. In Philadelphia, 3,225 boys and 2,353 girls secured work permits; of this number 704 were less than one month over 14 years of age; 1,280, or over one-fifth of the total were less than two months over 14. Fifty-five per cent of the children dropped out at the end of the sixth grade or while in the seventh, 28 per cent from the eighth grade and 16 per cent from the high school.

What can we deduce from this array of figures? The large majority of children leaving school do so at the age of 14—and do so in the fifth and sixth grades. These are the minimum requirements of the average child labor laws. When, in some instances, as high as 74 per cent of the children receiving work permits have not gone beyond the fifth grade of public school, one fears for the efficiency of the future citizenship. It is not fair either to the child or the community.

Yet there is the other side to the question—the fact that children impatiently await their fourteenth year when they will be old enough to leave school. They are impatient to grow up! The story of the little girl who had her party celebrating her fourteenth birthday in the morning, and was seen at the mill doors in the afternoon waiting in line to be interviewed by the superintendent—is not an uncommon one.

### HOW CHILDREN LEAVE

Thousands of children leaving school yearly to enter the fields of industry do so within the law. There are, however, any number of children working under false pretenses and even in direct violation of the laws. In Peoria, Illinois, the Woman's Division of the Council of Defense conducted a survey of "drop-outs" in the elementary grades, as part of their work in the Back-to-School Drive. Of 1,892 drop-outs only 94 were said to be going to work, yet 267 work permits were issued during the period of the survey. One hundred and thirty-four of the permits were to children of the elementary grades not on the drop-out list, that is in attendance at school prior to appearing for work papers, Thirty-two of the children who left school

to go to work did not take out their working papers. There were, then, 166 children not accounted for on school or work records. Conclusions are that the children use the summer vacation to leave school for work and disappear from school-rolls in the fall.

In the Bureau of Vocational Guidance in Chicago the large discrepancy between the number of children leaving school and the number of children receiving work permits was accounted for by the fact that children deceived employer and investigator by posing as 16 years of age. Another common ruse was to use the work permits of older sisters and brothers, who had "outgrown" their permits. Many children continued working on their vacation permits, or worked without even bothering about permits or requirements. In the maelstrom of industrial life it is not difficult to elude the inspector and truancy officer especially when these are comparatively few in number.

The more one studies the child labor problem the more one realizes that it is not only an economic problem—it is the problem of a stagnant school curriculum, of under paid teachers, of minds overfed with indigestible material, and of souls undernourished in their craving for adventure and real preparation for the lives they are to live. The problem of child labor must include in its scope not only the economic phases but also the educational, for a chain is as strong as its weakest link.

## REVIEWS OF NEW BOOKS

RUTH McINTIRE

RURAL LIFE. Charles Josiah Galpin. Century Company.

Professor Galpin's study emphasizes the struggle taking place in rural life through the introduction of scientific methods of farming and business among a people essentially "landminded," super-individualistic and conservative through generations of in-breeding. "The great 'if' in rural life," he says, "is 'if science captures farming.'" The important social problem of to-day is how to remove the significant handicap of the farmer's restricted contact with the human mind and how to give him access to it at its best. The author describes the methods now being evolved in this direction—rural social centers, clubs, county fairs, churches, and most important of all, the schools. At present the farmer's chief point of contact with the outside world is through his children. Professor Galpin does not point out the woeful inadequacy of the schools through which this contact must come. In fact throughout the book he is inclined to emphasize the cheerful side of the picture. His farmer is of the traditional type—an owner of his inherited acres, independent, hard-working, industrious. Likewise the question of children on the farm is easily solved by him. They work under their parents on a variety of occupations, they go to school, they grow up either as the next generation of landminded owners or as "variants" who are drawn to the city and with whom too little contact is subsequently maintained.

There is little or nothing in his book of the reverse side of rural life—such pictures as the Children's Bureau has given in its survey of North Carolina, and in its study of rural New York. There is nothing of the tenant class of farmer, who forms a significant proportion of agriculturists, nothing of the children who are kept out of school to work in the large cotton growing areas of the south and middle west, not for their parents, on a variety of jobs, but in long, monotonous, commercialized labor.

"The fear of the hoe-farmer has been that if he educates his boy, he will run the risk of losing the boy from the farm to the city. The fear of the machine-farmer may very well be that if he fails to educate his boy, he runs the risk that the boy will not comprehend the modern science and art of agriculture. This rural dilemma in which the farmers of a community are living and struggling is the real problem of our time."

Professor Galpin is for the larger school unit, a closer relation between the elementary and the high schools, the gradual evolution of the school into a social factor in the life of the community and an agent for holding children to the country. Although the book is the product of long study and intelligent thought his attitude is primarily one of detachment. He is intent upon the future, and



upon the encouraging signs of a larger life that are manifesting themselves to-day. In this way he overlooks many of the elements that should enter into such a study. He fails to see significant obstacles. To present a complete picture of rural life to-day and to diagnose the troubles and prescribe the cure, a man must run closer to earth than the present author has done.

THE A B C OF EXHIBIT PLANNING. Evart G. and Mary Swain Routzahn. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Clear and practical ideas, fully illustrated by photographs of actual exhibits make this volume, the first in a new Survey and Exhibit Series, a useful textbook for publicity and education workers. The exhibit as a means of getting social lessons across to a hurrying and for the most part apathetic world, is comparatively new. Its technique is not established. It has been used both clumsily and with great effect. What the authors have tried to do and have admirably succeeded in doing is to point out the reasons for success or failure, and to indicate the possibilities of the method. Everyone engaged in working out local campaigns or exhibits should find it a great help.

OUR SCHOOLS IN WAR TIME AND AFTER. Arthur D. Dean. Ginn & Co.

Mr. Dean is chiefly concerned with our schools in war-time, whereas we, seeing that the war is presumably over, are more interested in what will come after. Historically, his book offers good material. He describes in detail the various ways in which the schools were brought into intimate contact with the war, in respect of activities, new opportunities for training, organization, and community spirit. As he says: "Now we have extension courses in economical cooking for adult women as a war measure. Later we shall have it as a home measure. Now we are bringing adult women into the schools to receive instruction with their children. Later we shall do the same thing because it is the only sensible procedure under any and all conditions. Now we think in terms of re-education of disabled soldiers because of the immediate need of helping these honored men. Later we shall turn what we have learned to do for these men into better provisions for making self-supporting our crippled and blinded children who are now in dependent institutions being made still more dependent by the very nature of the poor apology for vocational training which is given them. Now we have clearly before us the need for industrial education because those who are to work in the industries need it. Now we hold a child-labor law before youth tempted by industry. Later we shall endeavor to hold before youth better opportunities for vocational, physical, and mental training in our schools as an inducement to stay in them."

The author does not introduce any fundamental plan for accomplishing this purpose of drawing rather than driving the pupil to school. Better opportunities for training alone will not interest him or hold him. Mr. Dean appears to appreciate the need, but not to have grasped the fact that the change has got to be more sweeping than any that could be affected by the mere introduction

of additional curricula. There is missing in this study, the sense of reality. Furthermore he has a conception of the state as a personified super-being which is not in keeping with genuine democracy and equal opportunity. He is right in so many points, he has such trenchant criticism to offer of the existing educational system, that it is a disappointment to find that he offers to the modern doubts and hopes for modern education, very little that is constructive.

**THE YOUNG WAGE-EARNER AND THE PROBLEM OF HIS EDUCATION.** Edited by J. J. Findlay, Committee of the Uplands Association. London: Sidgwick & Jackson.

The English Education Act, passed last summer, stands as the greatest step that England has ever taken in education. Its passage was largely due to the personal initiative and the broad, progressive conception of education of Mr. Herbert Fisher, Minister of Education. One of its main provisions, which aroused the greatest degree of opposition on the part of manufacturers and employers, was the continuation school clause. As the bill was originally drafted, this would have applied to all "young persons" under 18 years of age, making schooling compulsory within work hours for 320 hours per year. On the ground that there can not be adequate provision for carrying it into effect for a few years, the operation of this part of the act is postponed seven years, and during this time local education authorities may reduce the attendance from 320 to 280 hours.

The passage of the Act was a great triumph, but not so great a triumph as would be the securing of a really inspiring, all-round kind of instruction for these working boys and girls. The cut-and-dried methods will not apply; compulsion will hold bodies but it will not train minds. As a writer in the present volume points out, "The success of a course of education is to be measured not by the knowledge or capacity acquired but by the development of the power and the will to acquire further knowledge and capacity." It does not seem, from some of the experiments described in "The Young Wage-Earner," that this ideal has as yet been attained in the schemes worked out by private enterprise.

The authors describe, on the part of the wage-earners of 14 and up who will become new scholars under the operation of the act, "a set attitude of mistrust and apprehension towards tutelage, particularly of the kind associated in their minds with school and school-life. There is a ground-swell of resentment against being passive; against being talked at, being ordered about, and being treated as a child. There is also a dislike of what is being taught in school. . . . We can coerce and compel attendance, with the legal authority contained in Clause 12, if we are sufficiently thorough in using the police court or in stopping wages—that is, we can compel the bodily presence of these youths at our classes; though there is something of assumption even in this. But the country will scarcely be satisfied with compelled attendance. Unless we can find some kind of an organization and curriculum that makes a positive appeal, our compulsion is waste of energy and temper."

The Committee of the Uplands Association proposes changes in the school organization, in curriculum, and most important, in the selection of teachers and supervisors, who should be given a free hand in working out the sort of school-

ing best adapted to the mental and physical development of adolescent wage-earners. Its report contains material that is intimately connected with our own problem of holding children in school by desire rather than compulsion.

THE KINGDOM OF THE CHILD. Alice Minnie Herts Heninger. E. P. Dutton & Co.

The proposition that "school work does not carry over into life" is not a new one, but Mrs. Heninger's experiment in helping it to carry over is new, educationally speaking, and has proved its worth. She is the founder and manager of the Children's Educational Theater, and in this volume describes her methods in utilizing the dramatic instinct in children and thus securing their interest in school work which is one of the most difficult problems of the teacher. "Dramatic play," she says, "is the natural way suggested by the child as his own inherited method of socializing facts." We need only be guided by the method adopted by the child in his self-education to become aware of the great force which identification with imaginary or real people bears in the child's life. The task is to give this force expression. Further, it has a direct empirical value in teaching. "The child, in his world of fancy, is constantly developing the right spirit towards drudgery, and we, in our world of fact, are constantly undoing his work. We regard a game as something to play at and be finished with in play. The child regards a game as something to be connected with life." The author's own experiences in drawing out the child's real character, in helping him to develop through participation in plays of real dramatic merit and beauty his own will, his social sense and his fundamental instinct for work and study, are told with great interest and life. She has pointed out one of those short cuts that open up a veritable avenue for the teacher who must jack her pupils up to formal examination standards, and yet rebels at the necessity of doing this through formal methods. The author repeatedly warns the would-be follower against any system. Each one must work it out individually with the cooperation of the pupils. This looks like one of the beginnings of democracy in school life and curriculum.



"YOU HELPED THE REST, NOW HELP THE BEST—OUR  
AMERICAN CHILDREN"

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JOSEPHINE J. ESCHENBRENNER

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With this slogan on its banner, the Pittsburgh and Allegheny County Membership Campaign Committee entered the field the week of February 3d, with a personal appeal for help for the work of the National Child Labor Committee, and, under the able leadership of Mrs. William Thaw, Jr., proved that where long-distance correspondence from National Headquarters had been able to develop only 77 members, the personal word of the friends of the National Committee could bring 1,096 active recruits into the fight for American children. \$7,628.60 in memberships and contributions were secured, and additional subscriptions still come in. Mrs. Thaw's lieutenants were Miss H. Marie Dermitt, Mrs. F. P. Iams, Mrs. Enoch Rauh, Vice-Chairmen; Alexander C. Robinson, Treasurer; Miss Annie E. McCord, Secretary, Miss Fredericka Richardson and Miss Marcella Callery, Assistant Secretaries. Leading the local committees were the following chairmen: Mrs. C. Valentine Kirby, Membership Subscriptions; Miss Margaret Dewar, Pageant; Mrs. Morton Herzog, Hotel Subscription Tables; Sidney A. Teller, Publicity; Miss Mary J. R. Condon, Exhibit Aides; David Terry, Exhibit Speakers; Miss Helen Nathan, Theater Speakers; H. A. McConnaughey, Church Cooperation; Dr. William M. Davidson, Cooperation of Schools; Sherman Conrad, Cooperation of Organizations.

Under the auspices of the Girls' Patriotic League, of which Miss Margaret Dewar is President, Miss Constance D'Arcy Mackay's Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow was beautifully presented at Carnegie Music Hall as a feature of the campaign. Members of the League took the parts of the principal characters, led by Miss Dewar as "Joy" and Miss Rachel H. Mellen as "Knowledge;" and pupils of Miss Viola Semler represented the "Children of Sunshine" and the "Children of Shadow."

## INDIANAPOLIS DOES ITS PART

Twenty members contributing in all \$45 were increased to 775 contributing over \$3,500, and the returns are not all in as this report goes to press. Indianapolis saw that the large sums she had donated recently for the work of humanity in foreign lands added to the obligation to prevent injustice to the young at home. An Indianapolis Membership Campaign Committee for the National Child Labor Committee was organized for active personal work the week of April 6th. Franklin Vonnegut, Chairman, was aided by Amos W. Butler, Mrs. L. W. Ellinwood, Rabbi M. M. Feuerlicht, Rev. F. H. Gavisk, Judge Frank D. Lahr, V. H. Lockwood, Rev. F. S. C. Wicks, Vice-Chairman; E. H. Wolcott, Treasurer, Miss Ruth G. Lockwood, Secretary, Miss Pauline C. Curnick, Assistant Secretary. Committee Chairmen were: on Membership Subscriptions, W. A. Hacker; Meeting at Murat Theater, Mrs. Edward L. McKee; Pageant, Mrs. W. O. Bates and Miss Mary Gavin; Publicity, Tom Snyder and Mrs. Carlos Recker; Cooperation of Organizations, Paul Kirby; of Churches, Eugene C. Foster; of Public Schools, E. U. Graff; of Parochial Schools, Mrs. Angeline Cook; Fourteen Minute Women, Mrs. G. M. Henderson; Parent-Teachers' Associations, Mrs. H. E. Barnard.

The Little Theater Society of Indiana presented the Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow at the Murat Theater as the feature of the week's work. It was the first presentation of the Pageant since Miss Constance D'Arcy Mackay, the author, strengthened it into a reconstruction measure, and the charming sermon was so effectively presented that grown-ups left the Theater with much the same feeling that one of the little girl participants expressed earlier: "Surely, after this they won't make little children work like that ever again!"

"NOW, FINISH THE WHOLE JOB"

Evansville, Indiana, is in the midst of preparations for its campaign as the report goes to press. Coming at the successful close of the Victory Loan Campaign work, the slogan of the local Committee is that the *whole* job for humanity and democracy is not finished until every child in our own country has a chance to grow and to learn the ideals democracy stands for; until every one of the

2,000,000 laboring children in our country, is taken out of the trench of child labor, and helped "over the top," to the schoolhouse and the playground and opportunity. The Evansville Campaign Committee is led by Mr. Paul H. Schmidt, Chairman; Rev. F. P. Ryves, Vice-Chairman; Mrs. A. M. Dawson, Chairman Membership Committee; Frank R. Wilson, Treasurer; Miss Pauline C. Curnick, Secretary; Miss Grace Kiechle of the People's Players, Chairman of Pageant Committee.

### THE COLLEGES LEND A HAND

Showing our exhibit in the great colleges has brought a strong response, both in new memberships and in awakened interest.

Vassar College led the way: in a two-day campaign over 200 of the girls of Vassar joined our membership, contributing \$460. The campaign, under the auspices of the Christian Association and Consumers' League of the college, was ably managed by its two chairmen, Miss Adelaide S. Day and Miss Charlotte C. Pardee. Miss Day had been aroused by her own experience at work in a tomato cannery where little children were employed, and she chose this way of protesting against that abuse.

Swarthmore College, after showing our exhibit for three days, accompanied by a spirited campaign of speeches and propaganda, conducted simultaneously in the College and in the village community, enlisted 230 new members contributing \$539. The campaign manager, Mrs. Isabel Briggs Myers, had the enthusiastic cooperation of Miss Esther E. Baldwin, of the faculty, and Mrs. Robert C. Brooke, in charge of Village cooperation. Committee chairmen who gave splendid assistance were: Miss Young, Speakers; Miss Reichard, Exhibit; Mr. D. Bronk, Publicity; Miss Janet Brown, Village Canvass; and Miss McNeel, College Canvass.

At Barnard College the Intercollegiate Community Service Association held our exhibit the week of April 24 to 30. Under the leadership of Miss Ruth Marshall assisted by Miss Aline Buchman, and with the cooperation of the Christian Association, represented by Miss K. W. Scudder, Barnard rolled up a membership in the Committee nearly 100 strong, contributing \$200.

At Teachers' College our exhibit carried its message effectively to scores of teachers and teachers-in-the-making. Of these a number



will have missions in China, in Japan, in Persia, in India—and they have asked for information and material which they may use to carry our message to those lands where new industrial systems threaten to take their grim toll of little children.

The University of Illinois, the Illinois State Normal University, and the three colleges at Oxford, Ohio—Western College, Miami University, and Oxford College—have each shown our exhibit and sent us their quota of new members. Each college student who sees our exhibit and joins our membership carries our message back to his or her community. And so we “preach our sermon to a procession.”

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## EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

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In the May number of *The American Child* it was noted that the federal child labor law, which went into effect April 25th last, had just been declared unconstitutional by Judge JUDGE BOYD'S Boyd of the western judicial district of North DECISION Carolína. Judge Boyd, it will be remembered, handed down a like decision with regard to the first federal law, and was later sustained by the Supreme Court. Judge Boyd's decision in the present case not only runs contrary to the spirit and the will of the people of the United States expressed through Congress, but it runs contrary to the majority will of his own state. On May 2, at Greensboro, North Carolina, Judge Boyd made permanent a temporary injunction preventing the Atherton Cotton Mills from discharging an employee, John W. Johnston, or curtailing his employment to 8 hours a day. John is between the ages of 14 and 16 and is one of those for whom the federal government believes 8 hours a day labor to be sufficient. According to the recent amendment to the Revenue Act placing a 10 per cent tax upon the profits of mills employing children under 14, or children between 14 and 16 for more than 8 hours a day, he would have had his time in the factory curtailed or if the mills decided that he and his mates were not worth the trouble of changing the schedules, he would have been discharged. W. C. Hammer, United States Attorney for the western district of North Carolina appeared as *amicus curiae* and suggested a want of jurisdiction in that the mills had no contract to prevent them from discharging the "infant plaintiff" at any time or for any reason that might seem fit, and also because the case was not one arising under the Internal Revenue or other federal laws so as to give the court jurisdiction to pass on the validity of the law. The court, however, overruled this suggestion and made the injunction permanent, as stated above.

But if the people of the state are not behind the decision, it does not lack supporters. Winston Adams, Secretary of the American



Cotton Manufacturers' Association sent out the statement that: "The manufacturers are contesting this law as a matter of principle rather than merely the working of young people. The manufacturers claim that if this law is held constitutional, the precedent has been established whereby the federal government can make and enforce any regulation covering conditions of employment, wages, hours and other kindred matters."

The important consideration, of course, is whether or not the Supreme Court to which the case has been appealed will sustain Judge Boyd's decision of unconstitutionality. It can not do so seemingly unless it goes squarely back on its previous decisions. The fact that Congress sought to do by indirection what it could not accomplish by direct prohibition, is beside the point. Congress has in the past laid a prohibitive tax calculated to destroy the article taxed—notably in the case of colored oleomargarine, state bank notes, and the manufacture of phosphorus matches. Its power to do this has twice been upheld by the Court. The National Child Labor Committee has every confidence that the Court will uphold it for the third time in the child labor case.

"When you keep children from working, what are you going to do with them?" is a question that has been asked from the beginning of the agitation against child labor. Most of the states that have taken measures against this form of exploitation have answered the question by bringing their compulsory school attendance laws to the standard of the child labor provisions. The federal government has just put in force a national child labor law, and as a corollary to this it is planned to provide federal aid to the states for promoting education and equalizing educational opportunities, which everyone knows to be grossly uneven, throughout the country. The states are in every case to take the initiative and to match the government's appropriation dollar for dollar. We have discussed the question of federal aid to education before. It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments in favor of appropriations to the states for the purposes of the removal of illiteracy, Americanization, equalization of educational opportunities, physical education, health education and sanitation and the preparation of teachers.

THE SMITH-TOWNER  
EDUCATION BILL  
REVISED

"It is always pertinent to ask whether we can afford to spend the money," said Mr. Herbert Fisher, English Minister of Education, speaking prior to the passage of the Education Act of 1918. "But when we are considering a form of productive expenditure, which is not only an investment but an insurance, that question can not stand alone. We must ask a supplementary question. We must ask not only whether we can afford to spend the money, but whether we can afford not to spend the money. And the supplementary question is more important and more searching." Can we in America afford not to spend the money? The Smith-Towner bill, creating a federal department of education and providing federal aid of \$100,000,000 annually for education within the states has been reintroduced in Congress. It is known as H. R. 7. It has the support of those working for child protection, for it is constructive and it is rational. It will help solve that problem of finding a real alternative to child labor.

Many states and bodies of people are working for more effective ways of promoting physical education. Some are seriously discussing the introduction of military training in the schools as a means to this end. In this connection it is interesting to note the report of the New York State Reconstruction Commission, on military training as given under the Welsh-Slater acts of 1916. After a careful inquiry into the value of this work the Commission "finds that the present military training law is designed to reach all boys of the state 16, 17, and 18 years of age and to give them one and a half hours a week of drill; but in reality it reaches only a quarter of the number due to the system of exemption. While this law has the advantage of being already in force and is an available instrument for the state, it has the great disadvantage of interfering needlessly with school work and causing confusion in the educational system. Also it creates a false and temporary obedience, it is too brief to accomplish results, it is vitiated by the fact that instruction is given by officers instead of by teachers, by the system of exemption, and by the monotonous repetition of drill. A training for a high type of citizenship and good physique can be attained better through other methods. The chief of these methods are physical education and summer camps. The

MILITARY TRAINING  
VERSUS  
PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Commission therefore desires to report adversely on the matter of technical military training for boys 16, 17 and 18 years of age." The findings of this Commission should be of use to the entire country. All-round physical development promoted through games and varied activity is a far better preparation for life—as well as for possible later military service—than premature automatic drill.

The child in America is rapidly coming into his own. The concern over his welfare which Prof. Lester F. Ward predicted many years ago as the outstanding sociological fact of the twentieth century is now very clearly manifest. Evidence and illustration of this concern were afforded by the National Conference of Social Work in its sessions at Atlantic City, June 1 to 8, inclusive. The child held a remarkably prominent place in the thought and discussion of the week, not merely the defective, the delinquent, the dependent, or the exploited child, but also the child of better fortune. At the first general session of the Conference, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of the Children's Bureau, said in her presidential address:

"What is America's duty—a country rich and strong beyond the dreams of avarice? If we are in earnest about democracy we are in earnest about giving every citizen a fair chance; that means first of all a fair chance for every child whatever his race or color. In practice it means vastly increased expenditures of public money for the direct service of childhood.

"Illiteracy existed before we went to war. It existed because children had gone to work instead of to school. Adult illiteracy is the inevitable sequence of child labor. The census in 1910 warned us, but we did not heed, that the areas of rural child labor and of adult illiteracy are largely identical.

"The illiteracy in our draft army shocked us. Unless we are willing to spend millions at once on elementary full term schools for children, we shall have a doubled adult illiteracy in a few years. The federal child labor law protects only children in mines, quarries and factories. We must protect every child, and the protection of the school is the surest and sanest. It is costly in money, but cheap and effective in result.

"In brief, universality is the only method of protecting children which is big enough and democratic enough to command our respect now. No race, no section, can be neglected. It is dangerous as well as selfish to do less than give all children a fair chance. The colored child has been too long neglected. Negro immigration is forcing us to see in a new way the dangerous folly of forgetting him. What of the children of the islands of Porto Rico and Hawaii? Not one but has a right to be counted."



Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, was elected president of the Conference for the ensuing year. In the concluding address at Atlantic City he gave renewed expression to his conception of social work as a patriotic, nationally constructive enterprise and to his faith in the leadership of little children in the tasks before the men and women of America.

Mr. Wiley H. Swift, in an article in this number of *The American Child*, suggests that the Red Cross become an agency for uniting local groups throughout the country in much needed work for children. Children's specialists at the international conference of the Red Cross at Cannes strongly advocated the adoption of a world program for child welfare. It was recommended that the program in order to offset the normal sickness and death rate resulting from the war include the education of prospective parents, the welfare of expectant mothers, obstetrical assistance, nursery supervision, including health studies in the school, recurring physical examinations of school children and detailed health records, special attention to subnormal children and universal age limits, and close physical supervision of child labor. In New York City recently the Red Cross has established a health station which is concerned not only with the physical health of the children under its care, but with keeping children in school, and arranging for scholarships so that they may complete their education.

The survey staff of the National Child Labor Committee has completed the field work involved in a state-wide study of conditions and problems of child welfare in Kentucky. The study was undertaken at the invitation of the Kentucky Child Labor Association, and its prosecution has been cordially aided by the people of the Blue Grass State. The subjects to be treated in the final report, which the Committee will shortly publish in book form, embrace: Public Health, Education, Recreation, Delinquency and Juvenile Courts, Child Labor, Agricultural Economics, Law and Administration. A special study of the coal-mining regions of Kentucky will be included. The volume will be added to the series of which

"Child Welfare in Oklahoma" was the first, followed by "Child Welfare in Alabama" and "Child Welfare in North Carolina," and it is hoped will help the people and legislature of Kentucky in formulating a comprehensive children's code.

A preliminary report of the proceedings of the Second Pan-American Child Welfare Congress which met, May 18-25 at Montevideo, Uruguay, has been forwarded by Mrs. Cornelius van Domselaar, representative of the National Child Labor Committee. At the opening session held in one of the largest theaters of the city, at least 1,500 people were present including the delegates of the Uruguayan and other governments. Among others the Minister of Public Instruction addressed the opening meeting and the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister were present. One of the important resolutions adopted at the closing session was the following:

"The Second Child's Congress of America accepts the project presented by its President, Dr. Luis Morquio, of creating an International American Bureau for Child Welfare which shall be the centre of study, of action and propaganda in America of all questions referring to the child. This Bureau will be an official organization of America, having its seat in the city of Montevideo. The Government of Uruguay will ask from its legislative assembly the sanction of a law creating this institution and will formulate its constitution in accord with the other American Governments."

Among the other resolutions adopted which are of special interest is the broad health programme laid down, including pre-natal care of mothers, medical examination of school children and a strenuous campaign against tuberculosis. There were recommended a flat 15-year age limit for working children, with compulsory school attendance to 15 years, a 16-year limit for industrial labor, a 6-hour day for all under 19 years, proof of age and physician's certificate, prohibition of the sale of newspapers, etc., by minor girls and by males under 18, prohibition of dangerous employment and night work. The establishment of children's courts was urged, and the care of abandoned children, the establishment of compulsory vocational instruction for children of both sexes between 14 and 18, and other far-reaching measures. Further, "The Second Child's Con-

gress declares that, without infringement on the special solution required by each of the above problems, all activities on behalf of child welfare should unite in an attempt to modify the hurtful economic organization of the present social regime."

The year 1919 as regards child labor legislation in New York was decidedly an off year. A glance at the results achieved will

readily convince anyone of this fact as the record  
NEW YORK of new laws is far exceeded by the number of bills  
CHILD LABOR which failed of passage.

LEGISLATION\* The chief gains were the two bills forming a part of the program of legislation introduced by the Women's Joint Legislative Conference. One of these for the first time brings under legal protection the employment of girls and women as elevator operators. This law prohibits girls under 21 years of age from engaging in such work and limits the hours of this work for women over that age. The other bill is similar but affects employment of girls and women in or in connection with the operation of any street, elevated or subway transportation service. It likewise forbids such employment for girls under 21 years of age and regulates the hours for women over that age to 54 per week and 9 per day and forbids such work after 10 p. m.

Another law of special importance is the Lockwood Law, which establishes the principle of state-wide compulsory continuation school attendance for all working children 14 to 18 years of age whether elementary school graduates or not. This legislation provides that the administrative details shall be left to local school authorities but the required attendance shall be between the hours of 8 a. m. and 5 p. m., and shall be for not less than 4 hours and not more than 8 hours per week. The law provides state aid to finance these classes and allows a period of five years commencing September, 1920. to make the law completely operative.

Legislation extending the jurisdiction of the State Industrial Commission was adopted, which provides for the enforcement in cities of the third class, such as Poughkeepsie, Kingston, Niagara Falls, Jamestown, Mt. Vernon, White Plains, etc., of the pro-

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\*This report on legislation in New York is by Mr. George A. Hall, Secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee.



visions of the labor law relating to the employment of women and children in mercantile establishments. This has been urged for years by the New York Child Labor Committee, in as much as local health officers have been too overburdened with the sanitary duties to inspect adequately these establishments. Two other bills became laws—one increasing the salaries of factory and mercantile inspectors and the other extending the power of child welfare boards with regard to the grants made of allowances to widowed mothers.

The passage of the Lockwood salary bill for school teachers marks the end of a legislative fight extending over a period of many years. It affects 50,000 school teachers throughout the state and increases the allotment of state funds to cities and rural districts. This law while not directly a child labor law is of vital importance, in so far as it will raise the standard of teaching in our public schools and thus make them more attractive to the children.

Space will not permit the description of the bills defeated directly or indirectly. Among these were one raising the standard of the newsboy law and one extending the limitation as to hours of employment of males 16 to 18 years of age employed in mercantile establishments. These two bills will be introduced in the next legislative session.

The federal child labor law and the end of the war together have resulted in plans for a general tightening in the enforcement of the state laws. In Arkansas, Iowa and Kansas the commissioners of labor have issued strict orders for the enforcement of the child labor laws. In the last two weeks of May there were seven prosecutions under the law in Des Moines.

Parents who make false affidavits are to be prosecuted, as well as the employer. While last year in Arkansas special vacation permits were issued to children between 10 and 14 years of age, permits will be issued this year only to children over 14. The Commissioner of Labor and Industry in Kansas has made a statement regarding the child labor law in that state in which he outlines the requirements for work permits and adds: "In no case will children under 12 years of age be permitted to be employed. During the school months no work permits shall be issued to any child under 16 years of age who has not completed the course of study for elementary

schools, except they may be permitted to work before and after school hours and on Saturdays and holidays." Children between 12 and 14 are not to be allowed to work in any restaurant, hotel, or place where soft drinks are sold. The Labor Commissioner says, "We expect to have a common sense interpretation of the law and then see that it is enforced."

In the May issue of *The American Child* a number of measures passed by the states were outlined. Complete returns are not yet in from the state legislatures, several of which are still in session. Special articles in this number refer to the work done in Missouri, California, North Carolina, Ohio and New York. In addition, progress was made in other states as follows:

The most significant general movement noted this year is the appointment of children's code commissions. Nebraska and Connecticut appointed commissions which will report back to the legislature; Indiana appointed an investigating commission on child welfare and social legislation which is to report its recommendations to the governor by December, 1920. Governor Cooper of South Carolina has appointed a like commission which, working with the state board of charities and corrections will study the conditions in the state affecting children and will draft a children's code. Thus it appears that the coordination of laws for children has become a fairly general aim in the states.

In the field of education, Florida made her compulsory school law state-wide and extended the time for attendance to apply to children between 7 and 16 years instead of between the ages of 8 and 14. Nebraska provided for continuation schooling for children between 14 and 16 years, for 8 hours a week. Minnesota, on the other hand, reduced the age for compulsory attendance from 18 to 16 years. This will doubtless make slight material difference in the actual number of children in school, as attendance has been required only through the eighth grade, and normal children will certainly have completed this before their sixteenth birthday. Among the labor laws are those of Maine and Massachusetts. In the latter state the bill providing for an 8-hour day, 48-hour week, for women and minors was passed. Maine established a 15-year age limit under which no child may be employed in any business or for hire

during school hours; night employment in bowling alleys and pool rooms is prohibited and the work permit provisions strengthened.

Mothers' pensions received attention in Maine, where the law was made stronger, and in Florida where a law was passed for the first time, granting \$25 a month for one child attending school and \$8 for the second child. In the matter of health, New Mexico passed a public health bill providing for a board of three, one of whom shall be a physician. North Dakota is to have health inspection in the schools; examination is to be made at least annually and the records will be filed. Among the miscellaneous measures is a Texas law creating an Industrial Welfare Commission empowered to fix a minimum wage for women and minors and regulate working conditions. Wyoming has forestalled the federal government by accepting the provisions of the Smith-Towner bill now pending in Congress, which would create a federal department of education.

### BREVITIES

According to the announced program of the Polish Minister of Education, children in Poland will be required to attend school for at least seven years, and the free common school is to care for all children of all classes of society.

It is reported that in Anniston, Alabama, last winter, 1,203 white children and 1,934 negro children were denied admission to the public schools for want of buildings. It takes something more than compulsory attendance laws to provide education for all the people.

The agitation for higher teachers' salaries, impelled by the unvoted and unheralded strike of thousands of teachers against intolerable injustice, is showing results. New York and Iowa have raised the salaries of teachers. The Board of Education in Seattle has fixed minimum salaries of \$1,500 and \$1,200 for high school and grade teachers respectively. This is yet not high enough compensation for teachers of real ability nor is the New Jersey provision of a minimum monthly salary of \$70 for the period school is in session, but it is a start in the right direction. Teachers' unions in numerous other states and cities are working for better conditions.



The East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, is organizing vocational work calculated to retain the children in school and to offer a so-called life-career motive in education. One of the pupils in a written class-room statement remarks pertinently, "I would like to be a school teacher because I have always taken a fancy to teach. My mother said it takes too much schooling for the pay you get after you get to be a teacher." When shall we give those priceless individuals who "have a fancy to teach" adequate return for their training and ability?

Buffalo has tackled the problem of overcrowded schools by approving a program involving the immediate erection of 20 new buildings to cost approximately \$8,500,000. Twelve of these are to be intermediate schools for the seventh, eighth and ninth grades. While this arbitrary division of children into elementary, junior high, and high schools is open to grave criticism, there can be no doubt as to the progressive character of the program outlined by the Superintendent, Ernest C. Hartwell. This includes departmentalized work, physical education and play, flexibility in the course of study, promotion by subject rather than by grade, recognition of the special needs of adolescent youth, and "an opportunity for the child to find himself vocationally through actual contact with the basic processes of a variety of occupations." Further, says Mr. Hartwell, "I would do away with the idea of the traditional recitation, and make the dominating ideal and purpose of the school to teach pupils *how to study*. If such an ideal is to be achieved, every class must be a work room and every subject must be taught by the laboratory method."

# The American Child

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# INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF CHILD LABOR

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

The Peace Treaty makes provision for many new forms and agencies of international cooperation of a non-political and economic character. Nothing in the Treaty goes more directly to the real foundations of permanent international peace and nothing has caused greater surprise to the unprepared American public than the establishment of an International Labor Office and the provision for an Annual International Labor Conference.

Certain ideals with respect to desirable international labor standards are embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is gratifying to note that the prohibition of child labor and the protection of the working child during the early years of its legal employment stand at the top of the list of desirable international labor standards. It is the purpose of the International Labor Office and of the Annual International Labor Conference to work out concretely a formal expression of these international standards and to provide for their enforcement and realization.

The first Annual International Labor Conference is scheduled to meet in Washington in October, and paragraph IV of the Agenda of the Conference relates to the employment of children and proposes to discuss three aspects of that question: (a) minimum age of employment; (b) during the night; (c) in unhealthy processes. Whatever agreements are reached on these matters by the delegates from the member states of the League of Nations assembled in Washington next October will be embodied in one of two forms: (a) recommendations to be submitted to the high contracting parties for consideration with a view to their being given effect by national legislation or otherwise; (b) a draft international convention for ratification by the high contracting parties. In either case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present is necessary on the final vote for the adoption of a recommendation or of a draft convention, as the case may be. There is further provision that in the case of a federal state, "the power of which to enter into conventions



on labor matters is subject to limitations, it shall be in the discretion of the government of such state to treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of this article with respect to recommendations shall apply in such case." It is supposed that this particular provision was inserted primarily to make it easy for the United States to be a party to the international labor agreements of the League of Nations. The procedure is that each of the high contracting parties undertakes that it will, within the period of one year at most from the end of the meeting of the Conference, bring the recommendations or draft convention before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment of the legislation or other action. This would mean that the President of the United States would probably refer recommendations dealing with child labor regulations to the governors of the several states to be presented by them in turn to their respective legislatures for consideration and appropriate action, on the theory that Congress has no power directly to legislate on the matter of the regulation of child labor. The same procedure would then follow in the case of a draft convention, even if ratified as a separate treaty, provided the United States wished to take advantage of the special procedure provided by the Peace Treaty for federal states with limited powers on labor matters. From our experience with state and federal legislation on child labor we would all agree that such action would make the cooperation of the United States in the international regulation of child labor extremely impotent and unsatisfactory. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the leaders in child labor reform along with others interested in labor standards generally will give serious thought to every proposal that will help us to formulate a more effective means of playing a part commensurate with our influence and proper place in the League of Nations, when our delegates are called upon to state our position in the International Labor Conferences.

A very interesting suggestion has been made by Dr. E. Stag Whitin of the National Committee on Prisons that Congress might in advance of the International Labor Conference enact provisions by which, similarly to the provisions for the prohibition of the importation of convict made goods, the importation of any article manufactured contrary to any standards adopted by the International Labor Conference and embodied in recommendations or

draft conventions would be automatically prohibited, and the Secretary of the Treasury authorized to formulate proper regulations under our tariff laws to enforce such prohibition. That suggestion might be extended into a proposal that the International Labor Conference itself embody as part of its recommendation or draft convention in every case an agreement between all nations parties thereto to enact legislation prohibiting the importation into their respective countries of all goods manufactured contrary to the standards agreed upon. This would close the doors of international commerce to those who violated such standards. Theoretically this would be, perhaps, sufficient to accomplish their enforcement, but practically it would involve great administrative difficulties in the inspection and certification of goods shipped in international commerce.

Former United States Senator George Southerland in a recent book entitled "Constitutional Power and World Affairs" presented an able argument for a more far-reaching and thorough-going solution of this problem in which he held that the treaty-making power of the Federal Government is sufficiently extensive to enable Congress to deal adequately with the enforcement of any treaty provisions which the Federal Government has ratified, and which come properly within the scope of international agreements by treaty.

Mr. J. P. Chamberlain of the Legislative Drafting Research Fund of Columbia University in a recent address before the Academy of Political Science\* has reviewed many recent decisions which throw light on this view of the implied powers of Congress under the treaty making power of the Federal government.

The following liberal extracts from Mr. Chamberlain's published address may well serve to encourage and stimulate constructive study of the vital problem of our participation in and enforcement of international labor standards:

"The treaty power is granted to the Federal Government in the most general and inclusive terms:

He [the President] shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. (Art. II, Sec. 2, Clause 2.)

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\*Published in the Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Vol. VIII, No. 3, July, 1919, Columbia University, New York City.

To protect further any rights secured under treaties and to make secure the settlement of treaty questions in the Federal courts, and so to emphasize the exclusive nature of the Federal control over treaties, the Constitution further provides:

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and *treaties made, or which shall be made*, under their authority. (Art. III, Sec. 2, Clause 1.)

Not satisfied, however, with the implied prohibition upon the power of the states, the fathers went a step further and expressly prohibited relations between states and foreign countries:

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation. (Art. I, Sec. 10, Clause 1.)

No State shall, without the consent of Congress . . . enter into any agreement or compact with any State, or with a foreign power. (Art. I, Sec. 10, Clause 2.)

Therefore, both by direct grant to the Federal Government and by express limitation on the action of the states, is the treaty power vested exclusively in the Federal Government and the intention of the Constitution made doubly clear, that as to foreign relations the United States shall be a single unit expressing its will through the President and two-thirds of the Senate. Only through the action of the United States Government can the interests of this country and of its citizens be protected abroad. Only in this manner can we enter into those arrangements between governments which, as the society of nations becomes closer knit, and intercourse more frequent and more vital, increase in number and in importance. Wisely did the founders of our Government set no express limit to this power of the Federal Government; but granted it in general terms, so that it could be extended to any of the new developments in international life which might require the joint action of states. . . .

"The legislative and administrative branches of the government on their side have lately expressed their judgment that the treaty power may invade fields which would be closed normally to Congress. In 1898 the question arose as to whether or not the United States could enter into a treaty with Great Britain to protect fisheries in boundary waters between the United States and Canada. It was referred to the Attorney General who said that it was obvious that the United States had no authority to regulate



fisheries within the territorial jurisdiction of the states, but since the regulation of fisheries was a proper subject for international agreement the United States could enter into a treaty for this purpose. To show that the regulation of fisheries was a proper subject for international agreement he cited certain treaties with Great Britain and also the necessity of joint control of the waters in which fish live and spawn, that is, the question as to whether a certain treaty is within the treaty power is determined by precedent and by the necessity of the case arising from the facts. (22 Op. Att. Gen. 214). A treaty to regulate fisheries was signed on April 11, 1908.

"Very recently this same theory has been embodied in a treaty and statutes. By the act of March 4, 1913, certain migratory birds were taken under the custody and protection of the United States Government and the game laws of the various states were set aside by a Federal statute. On August 17, 1916, by treaty between the United States and Great Britain on behalf of Canada, the protection for certain of these birds was made international. The statute being subsequently held unconstitutional in *United States v. Shauver* (214, Fed. 154, sec. 39, Sup. Ct. Rept. 134), Congress on the 3rd of July, 1918, passed a new act regulating migratory birds and declared that it was for the purpose of carrying out the treaty. The President promptly promulgated regulations under the statute. Congress, therefore, clearly assumes that under the treaty power it could take control of a subject otherwise in the exclusive control of the states and pass legislation otherwise not within its power, to carry out a treaty. The Executive has endorsed the opinion of the legislature. The Federal district judge who held the statute of 1913 unconstitutional has recently held the treaty and statutes passed under it constitutional.

"The best precedent for the power of the United States to enter into treaties without regard to the police power of the states is found in the words of the ordinary commercial treaty guaranteeing reciprocal liberty of residence, of travel and of doing business, to the citizens of one country in the territory of the other. If the police powers of the states are paramount and if no treaty in any way limiting them can be effective then these treaties guarantee no protection whatsoever to foreigners and the United States went beyond its powers in negotiating and ratifying them. That no one will contend this for a moment is the best proof that the question is not whether a

treaty can override the police powers of the states, but whether it is a legitimate exercise of the treaty power.

"The extent of the treaty power is the crux of the whole question. Fortunately we have judicial help in aiding us to determine it. Justice Davis in *United States v. 43 Gallons of Whiskey* (93 U. S. 188) said: 'It cannot be doubted that the treaty-making power is ample to cover all usual subjects of diplomacy with the different powers.' Expressing the same idea rather more fully, Justice Field said in *De Geofroy v. Riggs* (133 U. S. 258):

That the treaty power of the United States extends to all proper subjects of negotiation between our government and the governments of other nations, is clear. It is also clear that the protection which should be afforded to the citizens of one country owning property in another, and the manner in which that property may be transferred, devised or inherited, are fitting subjects for such negotiation and of regulation by mutual stipulations between the two countries. As commercial intercourse increases between different countries the residence of citizens of one country within the territory of the other naturally follows, and the removal of their disability from alienage to hold, transfer and inherit property in such cases tends to promote amicable relations. Such removal has been within the present century the frequent subject of treaty arrangement. The treaty power, as expressed in the Constitution, is in terms unlimited except by those restraints which are found in that instrument against the action of the government or of its departments, and those arising from the nature of the government itself and of that of the states. It would not be contended that it extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the government or in that of one of the states, or a cession of any portion of the territory of the latter, without its consent. *Fort Leavenworth R. Co. v. Lowe*, 114 U. S. 525, 541 [29: 264, 270]. But with these exceptions, it is not perceived that there is any limit to the questions which can be adjusted touching any matter which is properly the subject of negotiation with a foreign country. *Ware v. Hylton*, 3 U. S. 3 Dall. 199 [1: 568]; *Chirac v. Chirac*, 15 U. S. 2 Wheat. 259 [4: 234]; *Hauenstein v. Lynham*, 100 U. S. 483 [25: 628]; *Droit d' Aubaine*, 8 Ops. Atty. Gen. 417; *People v. Gerke*, 5 Cal. 381 (pp. 266-267).

"In *Downs, v. Bidwell* (182 U. S. 244) the court approved a former decision expressing the same idea:

The treaty-making power vested in our government extends to all proper subjects of negotiation with foreign governments (p. 294).

"Clearly, the treaty power cannot be used to destroy the Constitution or the government set up under it. A treaty which at-

tempted this would not be a proper exercise of the treaty power, but an interference with the rights of a sovereign state. It could only be imposed upon a defeated country, not under a constitutional power, but as the command of a victorious enemy. It cannot be said, however, that a treaty which limits the police power of one of the American states is therefore in conflict with the Constitution. The cases already cited are ample authority to the contrary. Furthermore, this power is only one of those granted to the United States by the Constitution. Another is the power to regulate interstate and intrastate commerce and, it is unnecessary now to argue that the police powers of the state do not stand in the way of an act of Congress passed in the legitimate exercise of its authority. The point was raised and decided by Chief Justice Marshall in *Gibbons v. Ogden* (9 Wheat 1). While a doubt was thrown upon it prior to the civil war, during the period in which the contest for state rights was being waged, it has not been questioned since the defeat of the Confederacy. Its completeness is shown by the expression of the court in *Keller v. United States* (213 U. S. 138):

While it may be a police power in the sense that all provisions for the health, comfort, and security of the citizens are police regulations, and an exercise of the police power, it has been said more than once in the court that, where such powers are so exercised as to come within the domain of Federal authority as defined by the Constitution, the latter must prevail (p. 146).

But if the police power of the states must give way before a legitimate exercise of the commerce power by the United States, why should they not equally give away before a proper exercise of the treaty power?

"Is the treaty proposed a usual subject of diplomacy? Dr. Andrews has told you how frequently labor questions have been made the subject of treaties between governments and the reasons why. The negotiations of Paris culminating in the labor clauses of the Covenant, are the latest evidence of the opinion of diplomats; the permanent labor organization included in the treaty testifies to the importance which labor treaties are about to assume in the international social order and prove that in fact international settlement of labor questions is 'a subject of negotiation' between nations.

"Pre-eminently the question is a political one, for determination by the political power of the government. If the President and



Senate decide that in justice to the interests of this country, and to the world at large the United States should enter into such treaties, their deliberate opinion would undoubtedly have great if not prevailing influence upon the court that the subject was proper for negotiation, as against the supporters of a narrow doctrine of state rights."

If the power of Congress to deal with labor matters is not sufficient to make the participation of the United States in international labor agreements effective under either of the above plans suggested, it may be necessary to consider a general amendment to the Constitution placing in the hands of the Federal government as complete control over labor matters as it has over commerce. Such a change in the Constitution would be a clear cut solution of a troublesome problem of uniformity in industrial standards which has bothered us greatly in recent years as a domestic problem before our recently enlarged responsibilities in international affairs and it would be a less revolutionary change in our constitutional system than either the prohibition or suffrage amendments.

## TENTATIVE STANDARDS FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILD WELFARE

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At the child welfare conference held by the Children's Bureau in Washington, May 5-8, at which a number of foreign delegates were present, minimum standards were adopted including a 16-year age limit for children entering industry, and compulsory education up to 16 with continuation schooling to 18 for those who have not passed the eighth grade. The tentative standards adopted are in detail as follows:

1. Proper location, construction, hygiene, and sanitation of schoolhouses; adequate room space—no overcrowding.

2. Adequate playgrounds and recreational facilities, physical training and supervised recreation.

3. Open-air classes and rest periods for pre-tuberculous and certain tuberculous children and children with grave malnutrition. Special classes for children needing some form of special instruction due to physical or mental defect.

4. Full-time school nurse for not more than 1,000 children, to give instruction in personal hygiene and diet, to make home visits to advise and instruct mothers in principles of hygiene, nutrition, and selection of family diet, and to take children to clinics with permission of parents.

5. Adequate space and equipment for school medical work and available laboratory service.

6. Part-time physician with one full-time nurse for not more than 2,000 children, or full-time physician with two full-time nurses for 4,000 children, for—

- (a) Complete standardized basic physical examinations once a year, with determination of weight and height at beginning and end of each school year; monthly weighing wherever possible.

- (b) Continuous health record for each child to be kept on file with other records of the pupil. This should be a continuation of the pre-school health record, which should accompany the child to school.

- (c) Special examinations to be made of children referred by teacher or nurse.

- (d) Supervision to control communicable disease.

- (e) Recommendation of treatment for all remediable defects, diseases, deformities, and cases of malnutrition.

- (f) Follow-up work by nurse to see that physician's recommendations are carried out.

7. Available clinics for dentistry, nose, throat, eye, ear, skin, and orthopedic work, and for free vaccination for smallpox and typhoid.
8. Nutrition classes for physically subnormal children and the maintenance of mid-morning lunch or hot noonday meal when necessary.
9. Examination by psychiatrist of all atypical or retarded children.
10. Education of school child in health essentials.
11. General educational work in health and hygiene, including education of parent and teacher, to secure full cooperation in health program.

## MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR CHILDREN ENTERING EMPLOYMENT

### AGE MINIMUM

An age minimum of 16 for employment in any occupation, except that children between 14 and 16 may be employed in agriculture and domestic service during vacation periods.

An age minimum of 18 for employment in and about mines and quarries.

An age minimum of 21 for night messenger service.

An age minimum of 21 for girls employed as messengers for telegraph and messenger companies.

Prohibition of the employment of minors in dangerous or hazardous occupations, or at any work which will retard their proper physical development.

### EDUCATIONAL MINIMUM

All children shall be required to attend school for at least nine months each year, either full time or part time, between the ages of 7 and 18.

Children between 16 and 18 years of age who have completed the eighth grade and are legally and regularly employed shall be required to attend day continuation schools eight hours a week.

Children between 16 and 18 who have not completed the eighth grade or who are not regularly employed shall attend full-time school.

Vacation schools, placing special emphasis on healthful play and leisure-time activities, shall be provided for all children.

### PHYSICAL MINIMUM

A child shall not be allowed to go to work until he has had a physical examination by a public health physician or school physician and has been found to be of normal development for a child of his age and physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed.

There shall be a periodical medical examination of all working children who are under 18 years of age.

### HOURS OF EMPLOYMENT

No minor shall be employed more than eight hours a day. The maximum working day for children between 16 and 18 years of age shall be shorter than the legal working day for adults.



The hours spent at continuation schools by children under 18 years of age shall be counted as part of the working day.

Night work for minors shall be prohibited between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m.

#### MINIMUM WAGE

Minors at work shall be paid at a rate of wages which for full-time work shall yield not less than the minimum essential for the "necessary cost of proper living."

#### PLACEMENT AND EMPLOYMENT SUPERVISION

There shall be a central agency which shall deal with all juvenile employment problems. Adequate provision shall be made for advising children when they leave school of the employment opportunities open to them; for assisting them in finding suitable work and providing for them such supervision as may be needed during the first years of their employment. All agencies working toward these ends should be coordinated through the central agency referred to.

#### ADMINISTRATION

##### *Employment Certificates*

Provision shall be made for issuing employment certificates to all children entering employment who are under 18 years of age.

An employment certificate shall not be issued to the child until the issuing officer has received, approved, and filed the following:

1. Reliable documentary proof of the child's age.
2. Satisfactory evidence that the child has completed the eighth grade.
3. A certificate of physical fitness signed by a public health physician or school physician. This certificate shall state that the minor has been thoroughly examined by the physician and that he is physically qualified for the employment contemplated.
4. Promise of employment.

The certificate shall be issued to the employer and shall be returned by the employer to the issuing officer when the child leaves his employment.

The school last attended, the compulsory education department, and the continuation schools shall be kept informed by the issuing officers of certificates issued or refused and of unemployed children for whom certificates have been issued.

Minors over 18 years of age shall be required to present evidence of age before being permitted to work in occupations in which their employment is prohibited.

Record forms shall be standardized, and the issuing of employment certificates shall be under state supervision.

Reports shall be made to the factory inspection department of certificates issued and refused.

*Enforcement of Compulsory Attendance Laws*

Full-time attendance officers adequately proportioned to the school population shall be provided in cities and counties to enforce the school attendance law.

The enforcement of school attendance laws by city or county school authorities shall be under state supervision.

*Factory Inspection and Physical Examination of Employed Minors*

Inspection for the enforcement of all child labor laws, including those regulating the employment of children in mines and quarries, shall be under the same department. The number of inspectors shall be sufficient to insure the regular observance of the laws.

Provision should be made for staff of physicians adequate to examine periodically all employed children under 18 years of age.

## CHILD LABOR AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

EDWARD N. CLOPPER

An intimate relation exists between child labor and school attendance. But to understand it there must, of course, be some agreement as to what are the two things between which the relation exists. What is child labor? The merchant says that the work a child does in a department store is not child labor because it is light, offers fine opportunities for vocational training, and the earnings are a welcome addition to the family income; the circulation manager of a newspaper says that newspaper selling in the streets is not child labor, because it is light work, offers fine opportunities for business training, and the earnings are sorely needed at home; the housewife says that the work done in her kitchen by the child from the orphan asylum is not child labor because it is light, offers fine opportunities for training in domestic service, and the earnings, if any, form a much needed nest-egg; the farmer says that the work a child does in agriculture is not child labor, for it is done out of doors, it is splendid vocational training, and is indispensable to the general family well-being.

We might cite such examples indefinitely, for nobody looks upon his own form of child employment as exploitation, and we are all in the habit of confining child labor within the four walls of a spinning-room in a southern cotton mill. That is, all but the southern cotton mill men—they say that the work children do in the mills is light, the conditions are good, the earnings are needed, and they point the finger of scorn at the mountain life from which their workers came. It depends a good deal upon the viewpoint. The United States Census, however, includes in the term any kind of work done by children which contributes substantially and regularly to a general undertaking—domestic service and farm work as well as the more commonly recognized forms. Indeed, the census tells us that nearly three-quarters of all the child laborers under 16 years of age in the United States are farm laborers; not merely children who do chores, but who do an appreciable amount of the general work of the farm.



So we may venture to define child labor as the work done by children under 16 years of age, with or without pay, under direction or independently, which deprives them of their normal measure of play, schooling, rest and healthy development.

There are occupations which are helpful, which to a certain extent are recreation, which assist in training and are necessary to the discipline of the child, and these are to be encouraged. But nobody means these forms of activity when he speaks of child labor. Child labor is one thing, child training is another thing. The reason we have child labor in this country is because this distinction is not observed, because every employer of children thinks his kind is the beneficial kind, because people are blinded by their selfishness. The reason the merchant does not consider the work a child does in his department store as child labor is because he has his thoughts on the balance sheet; the reason the newspaperman does not consider the work done by newsboys in the streets as child labor is because his mind is busy with thoughts of increased circulation; and the reason the farmer does not regard the work children do in the fields as child labor is because he has his mind upon the volume of his crops. We are all after results and are so wrapped up in their pursuit that we not only seize upon every aid that comes to hand but stanchly justify that aid. We are more interested in the end than in the means to the end, and so we find southern cotton mill men insisting that children are better off in the spinning room than outside, just as all other employers of child labor glorify the peculiar benefits to be derived from devotion to their interests.

School attendance is, of course, the *sine qua non* of education. No matter what the school facilities may be, no matter how much money the community may spend for buildings, equipment, and teachers, if they are not taken advantage of there can be no results. The provision of schools presupposes some plan of education, some course of study, some object to be attained, but this plan can not be realized unless the attendance is fairly constant and the child thereby acquires knowledge in its several parts, recognizes the relation among these parts, and later applies this knowledge to his effort to make a place for himself in the world.

Generally speaking, child labor and school attendance are conflicting terms, for the one excludes the other. If the child spends his time at labor, manifestly he can not attend school, and if he goes to

school he has not time in the ordinary course of affairs to engage in a regular occupation. Of course there have been instances in which the two have been combined without entailing injury, but these are extreme cases, and the effects of such a double load under modern conditions are almost invariably unfortunate. The object of all child welfare work is to secure to children a normal home life with all the advantages this carries with it. Their health must be safeguarded, ample recreation afforded, and schooling assured. These three—health, play, and schooling—in a good home form the triad of normal childhood. Whatever else is introduced into the life of a child must be of such a nature as not to interfere in any way with his getting the full benefit of these three requisites to happiness. In such a childhood, labor, as we have defined it, has no proper place.

Curiously enough, in this land where we so much exalt public education, we commonly ignore the denial through child labor of the schooling which the state provides for children at public expense, for one of the worst counts in the indictment against child labor is that it interferes with school attendance, and this interference occurs, of course, no matter what form the labor takes, no matter how apparently useful it may be. The work of a child on a farm in the school term breaks up his schooling just as much as the work of a child in a factory, and it is becoming notorious that rural school attendance suffers more by reason of the demands of farm work than from any other cause. The National Child Labor Committee has found that the work boys and girls do in and out of doors on the farm is responsible for as much absence as illness, bad weather, bad roads, distance of home from school, poverty, and all other causes combined. When sugar beets are to be thinned in the spring and harvested in the autumn the children are taken out of school to do the work. Everybody in the community looks upon this practice as a matter of course. The agricultural needs of the moment take precedence over the best interests of the child. No state prohibits child labor in agriculture but nearly everywhere the child under 14 years is required by law to go to school, yet when the farm calls, this item in the children's bill of rights is promptly swept aside. So it is in the onion fields of the middle states, in the cotton fields of the South, in the fruit-growing regions of California, in the tobacco fields of Kentucky, in cranberry bogs, in strawberry fields, in truck gardens everywhere. The schooling of the child may be stopped but the crops must be tended—the onions must not perish! Indeed,



the state of Vermont has this year gone so far as to authorize state officers to revoke the restrictions upon work hours of women and children in canneries, because it is more mindful of the danger to the fruit and vegetables than of the effect upon the workers in robbing them, even for a time, of their guarantees of health, play, and schooling.

The line between school attendance and child labor is more closely drawn in cities than in the country, because in the cities are found the industries to which the child labor laws apply, there are more elaborate school systems, and there are officers to enforce the laws. Labor inspectors go into the factories and stores, the hotels and restaurants, to see that the child labor law is observed, and the truancy officers go into the homes to see that the children attend school. But the standards in the child labor and school attendance laws of the several states are so different, there are so many omissions and loopholes, and in many instances the provisions of even one state are so conflicting as hopelessly to confuse anyone who examines this general hodge-podge in search of a national standard. In this field we have no national standard. The United States is a mixture of peoples entirely befuddled by laws. Nor are the so-called children's codes succeeding in harmonizing the child welfare laws of one state with those of other states.

All this confusion, all this failure of the states to fix standards and to coordinate the standard in one field with the standard in a related field, has brought about the conviction that only through action by the federal government can uniformity be attained. The trend in social welfare effort is toward the setting up of minimum standards by the nation and the current has set in rapidly in that direction. The states are free to go beyond such standards but they may not fall below them. In the field of health we now find the agents of the United States Public Health Service operating throughout the country. In the field of labor there was, both during and prior to the war, a significant development in federal control over conditions affecting children. Three years ago Congress passed a bill barring from inter-state commerce the products of mines, quarries, and factories in which children were employed below certain specified standards. This action was admittedly based upon a new interpretation of the inter-state commerce clause of the Constitution, for until then this clause had never been used to control the conditions of employment within the states. The belief was quite general,



however, that such an interpretation was justifiable, and confidence was nearly everywhere expressed that the constitutionality of this first federal child labor law would be upheld. Just a year ago, however, the Supreme Court by the narrow vote of 5 to 4 declared that such use of the inter-state commerce power to control what the court held to be a purely local matter was repugnant to the spirit and intent of our fundamental law. Following upon the heels of this decision there came a great demand for labor and children needed protection more than ever—so the War Labor Policies Board issued an order that in all contracts for the production of goods for the government, directly or indirectly, it should be specified that the standards of the nullified child labor law must be observed. This gave opportunity for the maintenance of these standards by government agents during the war. With the signing of the armistice, however, conditions changed, and it became necessary to reestablish them upon some other basis. The question was, which of the remaining powers of Congress could be, with the brightest prospect of success, chosen as the means to this end? After long study and conference, the taxing power was selected, and Congress wrote into the War Revenue Act a clause levying upon factories, mines, and quarries employing children under the standards formerly fixed, a tax of 10 per cent upon their net annual profits. This took effect in April and the Treasury Department is now at work seeing that these standards are observed or that the tax is paid. A test case was at once brought in North Carolina by the cotton mill interests, and the United States District Court at Greensboro held the law to be unconstitutional; an appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court, where the case is now pending for final decision.

Here we have a determined effort to set up a minimum federal standard for the employment of child labor in productive industry throughout the country, for this tax is not limited to the shipment of goods in inter-state commerce, but applies to the work of children in any factory, mine or quarry no matter how restricted to a given locality the business of that establishment may be. The manufacturer who disposes of all his goods in his home town is just as much subject to the tax if he employs children as the manufacturer whose business is world-wide. In this instance, federal control penetrates into the most isolated parts of the country.

But not only in the labor field is federal power being developed but also in the field of education. Indeed, the federal government has

followed consistently the policy of aiding education from the time of the very foundation of the republic. Through grants of public land and moneys to the states Congress has contributed largely to the growth of our public school system. The passage of the Smith-Lever bill a few years ago encouraged the development of agriculture and the quickening of young people's interest in agricultural training. Later, the Smith-Hughes Act, by grants to the states of money for the purpose of promoting vocational education, especially through the payment of teachers' salaries and for the training of teachers, extended the area of federal activity. But, of course, this money is not granted by the federal government without the laying down of certain conditions which must be met by the states. They must match dollar for dollar, and they must conform in other ways to the federal standard.

Now it is proposed to extend this principle of federal aid to general education and recreation. The Towner bill, already introduced into the new Congress, would provide assistance to the states out of the federal treasury for the purpose of improving the quality and enlarging the scope of their educational work. It provides for an annual federal appropriation of \$100,000,000 which would be distributed among the states for certain specified purposes in the ratio which each state's population to be immediately benefited bears to the total of such population in the United States.

Three-fortieths of the total, or \$7,500,000 would be allotted to the states for the instruction of illiterates 10 years of age and over;

The same amount, to teach immigrants 10 years of age and over the English language and their duties as citizens;

One-half of the total, or \$50,000,000, would be devoted to lengthening school terms and to improving the elementary schools, especially in our rural districts;

One-fifth of the total, or \$20,000,000, would be used for promoting recreation, physical education, medical inspection, the employment of school nurses; and

Three-twentieths, or \$15,000,000, would be used for the training of teachers.

This aid, if the bill be adopted, will be granted to the states only if they agree to abide by the conditions imposed by the federal government. Such conditions may well include compulsory school attendance with an adequate force of truancy officers, medical inspection of school children, minimum standards for courses of study

and minimum salaries for teachers. It is inconceivable that the nation should pay over this money to be expended by the several states without taking such measures as will secure the uniform observance throughout the land of those minimum standards which the experience of the people has shown to be indispensable. The federal government through its restrictions upon immigration forbids the entry into this country of an unaccompanied child under 16 years of age unless the persons here to whom the child is going agree that he will be kept in school until he becomes 16 years old. This amounts to a federal standard for school attendance although of limited application and if the federal government sees fit to set up this standard in the field of education for the newly arrived foreign child, why not for the children of our own soil?

The nation is recognizing the relation between child labor prohibition and school attendance, for as Congress persists in its effort to find a way in which federal control of child labor may be assured, so it is thinking of measures for helping the states more adequately to meet their educational duties. The federal government says child labor must be prohibited, but it is also about to say that with that prohibition must go the requirement of school attendance and the guarantee of facilities for a more complete schooling open to all the children, to those of our remote regions as well as to those in our great urban areas.

This movement for minimum standards and their coordination is not confined, however, to our nation nor is it the distinctive policy of any one political party or government. It is characteristic of the new spirit in international relations, and it finds expression in the community of interests among the progressive peoples of the world. The provisions of the pending treaty of peace vividly illustrate this searching after fundamental bases for the general welfare and among them there is a clause which, if it remains unchanged, will commit the signatories to the policy of prohibiting the employment of children under 14 years of age in commerce and industry and of requiring at the same time the attendance of children between 14 and 18 years at full-time or part-time schools where they may have the advantages of general or technical courses.

So it is that suitable child welfare standards in the correlated fields of labor and education are about to prevail in both a national and a world-wide way.



## CHILD HEALTH PROGRAM IN OHIO

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JOHN A. LAPP

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It may be thought a far cry from health insurance to child welfare, but the connection is really so close that the Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance Commission considered that one of its most important duties was to study the provisions made for the health of children and to recommend measures for improvement. Considerable attention was, therefore, paid to medical inspection of school children, the care of children in children's homes, the physical care of the children going to work and prenatal and maternity care.

After a careful study, the Commission recommended that health supervision of schools be made compulsory in all parts of the state; that public health nurses be provided in every county, and that children making application for working certificates must be examined as to their physical fitness for the work which they were expected to do.

In its recommendation for health insurance the declaration was also made favorable to maternity insurance, particularly to provide adequate medical care.

The program outlined was only partially enacted at the session of the legislature this year, but this was to be expected. Measures of far-reaching importance in public health were pending and it was not deemed advisable to attempt too much at one time. The foremost need of Ohio was the creation of all-time health officers to take the place of the 2,100 local health officers selected by townships and municipalities. This measure was enacted and gives to Ohio the most complete system of public health protection to be found anywhere in the country so far as legislation can make it. Each health district, which corresponds to a county, and to the larger cities, must provide for a full-time health officer, to be appointed after civil service examination and with the approval of the State Department of Health. The state is also divided into eight districts, over each of which is a deputy of the State Department, whose duty

will be to supervise the public health work of his district, subject to the control of the State Department.

In each one of the health districts at least one public health nurse must be provided, and also such clerical assistance as may be necessary. This provision makes it certain that in the remotest county of the state at least one visiting nurse will begin the task of reaching the people—particularly the children, in their homes.

The law does not provide for compulsory health supervision in schools to the extent of requiring such supervision to be given and medical examinations to be made. It does give the authority to the State Department to carry on health supervision work, but does not make examinations compulsory. In fact, a provision was inserted which prohibits the enforcement of medical care upon children.

A companion bill, which would have made medical supervision compulsory under the supervision of the health authorities, was not pushed for passage. It was thought best to get the machinery of public health well organized before undertaking the next logical step. The bill providing for medical examination of children going to work was also left in abeyance.

During the year the friends of health insurance in Ohio believed strongly that it was necessary to clear the way by establishing adequate health machinery before health insurance should be established, and in consequence no effort was made to enlarge a program which in its complete scope includes under the insurance provisions adequate medical care for the worker and his entire family.

An excellent provision of the Ohio Act, which is new in this country, is that it puts in the hands of the health authorities of each district the care of all sick persons who are unable to pay for treatment. This in itself should go a long way toward enabling social workers to obtain the medical care for children which has heretofore been impossible.

## SCHOOLBOY HOWLERS

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RAYMOND G. FULLER

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When a schoolboy, in answer to an examination question, wrote, "The press is the mouth-organ of the people," he might not have said what he meant or known exactly what he did mean, but he furnished a good text for an article on modern journalism. However, our present theme is not modern journalism, but schoolboy\* howlers, products of such confusion (or collision) of ideas as the quotation exemplifies.†

Let us, to begin with, look over the papers of the class in General History. We learn from so doing: "Romulus obtained the first citizens of Rome by opening a lunatic asylum." "Pompeii was destroyed by an eruption from the Vatican." "There were no Christians among the early Gauls, they were mostly lawyers." "The pagans were a contented race until the Christians came among them." "Louis XVI was gelatined during the French Revolution." "Three Spanish explorers were potatoes, tobacco and corn." In mythology we have the following: "Achilles was dipped in the river Sticks to make him normal." "The Gorgons were three sisters that lived in the islands of the Hesperides, somewhere in the Indian Ocean. They had long snakes for hair, tusks for teeth and claws for nails, and they looked like women, only more horrible."

The class in English History furnishes some interesting material for this collection: "My favorite character in English history was Henry VIII. He had six wives and killed them all." "The chief clause in the Magna Charta was that no free man should be put to death or be imprisoned without his own consent." "Edward the Third would have been King of France if his mother had been a man." "The King was not to order taxis without the consent of Parliament." "The Pope called Henry VII, Fido the Offensive." "James I claimed the throne of England through his grandmother,

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\*And schoolgirl.

†Absence of ideas is sometimes present.



because he had no father." "Henry the First's son William was drowned in the White Ship and never smiled again." "It was said of William Rufus that he never smiled again. He did this after he was shot by an arrow with an apple on his head." "The attempts at colonization in Elizabeth's reign were that Raleigh brought smoking into England and had a bucket of cold water thrown on him, and Drake discovered potatoes round the world and planted them in Lancashire." "In William II's reign Dysentery got permission to worship." "The Black Death was terrible for the laborers, because they were forced to do all the work left by the thousands that died."

American history on several counts is quite as interesting, however, as English: "The cause of the Revolution was that the colonists wanted room to pasture their cattle." In the Civil War "the colonists had to deal with vicious characters, and I think this is why this is called the Civil War, because after the war the different races of people were more civilized." "The Monroe Doctrine led to the Civil War." "America was discovered by the Spinach." "Georgia was settled by people who had been executed." "In 1620 the Pilgrims crossed the ocean and this is known as Pilgrim's Progress." "The reason Taft was not elected in 1912 was that the Republican party separated him." In answer to the question, "What were the relations of Captain John Smith to the Indians?" one youngster replied; "He was related to the Indians because he married Pocahontas."

From the history papers we derive various bits of biography: "Lord Raleigh was the first man to see the Invisible Armada." "Queen Elizabeth rode a white horse from Kenilworth through Coventry with nothing on, and Raleigh offered her his cloak." "Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1588 and died in 1560. She did not have a long reign." "Thomas Becket used to wash the feet of leopards." "Henry I died of eating Palfreys." "Benjamin Franklin was the founder of electricity." "Benjamin Franklin produced electricity by rubbing cats backward." "Caesar was a king and went high up on a mountain." "When Cicero delivered his oration he was a prefix." "Henry VIII was very fat, besides being a non-conformist." "Andrew Jackson was called Old Hickory because when he was a boy he was a little tough." "George Washington married Mary Curtis and in due time became the father of his

country." "If George Washington was so good as to never tell a lie he would never been President." "Lincoln had a woman make him a suit of homespun from rails which he had split. They were hickory rails, hence hickory shirts." "Patrick Henry aided Columbus on his voyages." "The Puritans drove Roger Williams out of Massachusetts because he would talk about God." "Pocahontas was a Dutchman. She saved John Smith's life and then married John Rolfe."

Biographical notes are also derivable from the papers in English literature and other subjects: "Shakespeare founded 'As You Like It' on a book previously written by Sir Oliver Lodge." "Tennyson wrote 'In Memorandum'." "Ben Johnson is one of the three highest mountains of Scotland." "George Eliot left a wife and children to mourn his genii." "Walter Scott was imprisoned in the Tower because he could not pay his debts, while there he wrote the Waverly Novels, but he was afterwards burned alive. He also brought tobacco from Virginia, so called after his beloved mistress, Queen Elizabeth."

Civics and civil government form an important field of schoolboy knowledge: "I don't know anything about the Constitution as I was born in Kansas." "The minority is composed of minors." "The spoils system is the place where spoiled things and waste are kept. The board of health has largely taken the place of this." "An ex post facto law is one that gives officers a right to go to foreign countries and get criminals, dead or alive, and take them back to the place where the crime was committed. It is a law where the crimes of the father descend to his children; they are punished for him." "The President takes the yoke of office."

Geography to schoolboys is "joggafry" indeed: "The Rhine is bordered by wooden mountains." "The Pyramids are a range of mountains between France and Spain." "Panama is a town of Columbo, where they are trying to make an isthmus." "Gibraltar is a ledge of rocks and is generally used by insurance companies, corporations, and others in denoting their strength safety." "The principal products of Kent are Archbishops of Canterbury." "Waterloo is in Ireland, Gotham is in Belgium."

Mathematical prodigies are by no means absent from the ranks of school children: "Algebra was the wife of Euclid." "Algebraical symbols are used when you don't know what you are talking about." "Geometry teaches us how to bisex angels." "The line opposite the

right angle in a right-angled triangle is called the hippopotamus." "Parallel lines are the same distance all the way and can not meet unless you bend them." "A circle is a round straight line with a hole in the middle." "A curve is a straight line that has been bent." "Sixty gallons make one hedgehog."

Science, natural and unnatural, outdoes all mysteries and miracles: "Horsepower is the distance one horse can carry a pound of water in an hour." "Gravitation is that which if there were none we should all fly away." "A vacuum is a large empty place where the Pope lives." "To kill a butterfly you pinch its borax." "A ruminating animal is one that chews its cubs." "The earth is an absolute spheroid." "The Zodiac is the Zoo of the sky, wherein lions, goats, and other animals go after they are dead." "If a schoolroom is without ventilation how are the pupils to study with the fowl air pressed down upon them; it makes them oftentimes sick and inclined to laziness." "Reflex action is when anything is turning in one direction and it turns in the other." "Plants take in oxygen occasionally but always take in nitrogen at night." "The amount of rainfall required for general agriculture is 16 feet." "The life of the bees in the hive is indeed a communal one, for they communicate all the time by buzzing and rubbing their antennae together." "Diffusion of gasses is the odor in an icebox." "That the earth is round was discovered by John on the Isle of Patmos." "Mountains are made of shoes, tin cans and a sort of old rocks." "Beverages are diseases that catch." "Typhoid fever is prevented by fascination." "The climate is caused by hot and cold weather." "Longitude and latitude are imaginary lines on the earth which show which way you are going."

Our human bodies are fearfully and wonderfully made, as the class in physiology fully appreciates: "The Eustachian tube is so you can hear yourself talk." "The blood vessels are the veins and artillery." "The digestive system consists of the artillery canal." "The brain is a soft bunch covered with wrinkles." "The bones of the head are the cerebrum, the cerebellum and other small bones." (Speaking of boneheads!) "The eyes are located in the obituary cavity." "The body is made up of sugar, fat and ministers." "The esophagus is a thing that puts us to sleep." "By eating slowly food is digested before it is swallowed and thus enriches the blood, which goes down one leg and up the other."



If it be supposed that difficulties with the English language are a contributing factor in the making of schoolboy howlers, the following proof of grammatical and rhetorical and literary erudition will remove all doubt: "An abstract noun is something you can't see when you are looking at it." "The masculine of vixen is vicar." "A clause is a group of words distinguished as to sex." "Inflection is to cast a shadow on a syllable." "Etymology is a man who catches butterflies and stuffs them." "Gender shows whether a man is masculine, feminine or neuter." "Corpse is a noun in the passive case because it denotes passion." "Two legatives make an infirmative." "The author of a story must frequently insert a pleasant description in order to pacify the reader." "McBeth was a romance of noble people. Lady McBeth was of common or undertone. Thus great sadness arose and all interest died." "There was no such man as Hamlet. He lived in Denmark." "The names of five Shakesperean plays are Macbeth, Quo Vadis, Mikado, San-Toy and the Sign of the Cross." "Shakespeare was a great writer, only he used too many familiar quotations." "At first Dryden and Pope were friends, when one day they became contemporaries." "Lewis Carroll wrote the Star-Spangled Banner." "Poetry is a thing you make prose of." "The closing of a letter is the manner in which you excuse yourself." "The parts of a business letter are: 1, date; 2, introduction; 3, body; 4, signature; 5, postscript and place for other sentences."

Definitions of this and that: "A working drawing is one that pictures a person at work." "A renegade is a man who kills a king." "A lie is an aversion to the truth." (Note the epigrammatic quality here.) "A deacon is the lowest kind of Christian." "The Salic law is that you must take everything with a grain of salt." "The Pharisees were people who liked to show off their goodness by praying in synonyms." "A blizzard is the inside of a hen." "The Boxers were Corbett, Fitzsimmons and Bill Johnson." "A saga was a pitiless warrior but a kind and loving husband." "A saga was made of wood and brass, held on the left knee and played with the right hand." "A brute is an imperfect beast; man is a perfect beast." "Bi-monthly means the installment plan." "An ibex is where you look in the back part of the book when you want to find anything that is printed in the front part of the book." "The Sublime Porte is a good wine." "Adam's ale is a drink that was made early in human history, in the Garden of Eden." "Adam's ale is the lump in a man's

neck." "A man who looks on the bright side of things is called an optimist, but a pianist looks on the dark side." "Conscription is what is written on a tombstone." "A hyphenated American is one that talks in short sentences."

Miscellaneous: "The salaries of teachers are paid from the dog tax." "One great modern work of irrigation is the Panama Canal." "In India a man out of a cask may not marry a woman out of another cask." "The cavalry swept over the eyebrow of the hill." "May Day commemorates the landing of the Mayflower." "Modern conveniences: Incubators and fireless telegraphy." "B. Sc. stands for Boy Scout." "The moon rose over the treetops and transfixes the night into day." "The whole of North America speaks English except Chicago and New York." "It was the cleanest dairy I have ever seen or ever expect to see, and each cow stands in a little stall of its own." "A Mr. Newton invented gravity with the aid of an apple." "The speaker did not expect ironclad cheers." "The laws are made by Lloyd George or else by a policeman." "Things which are impossible are equal to one another."

And now, gentle reader, forget not that while schoolboy howlers are comical, they signify a pedagogical tragedy. So much of the teaching and the learning in our public schools is text-book teaching and text-book learning that, generally speaking, the teacher doesn't half teach and the learner doesn't half learn. But don't blame the teacher too severely, or the learner; they are both victims of big, cumbersome, inflexible machinery—the school system—and of machine methods of education.

## A FORECAST OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON THE CHILD LABOR TAX LAW

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DAVID BRADY

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The importance of the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of the United States v Doremus (U. S. Sup. Ct. Adv. April 1, p. 282), in which case the court upheld the constitutionality of section 2 of the Harrison Anti-Narcotic Act (38 Stat. L. 785), can not be over-estimated in its possible bearing upon the Child Labor Tax Law, (Act of Feb. 24, 1919, Title XII) recently declared unconstitutional by Judge Boyd of the Western District of North Carolina.

By a vote of five to four the Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the Harrison Anti-Narcotic Act, holding that Congress has the power to lay excise taxes and that tax legislation is not invalidated by reason of the fact that the same business which is regulated by the taxing power of Congress is also regulated by the police power of the states, nor is the act unconstitutional because its *supposed motives* may look to another end than to the raising of revenue.

Section 2 of the Harrison Act contains regulations restricting the sale of narcotics to patients on the prescription of a physician "in the course of his professional practice only." Section 9 of the Harrison Act imposes a severe penalty for the violation of any of the provisions of this act. The district court of the Western District of Texas declared this section unconstitutional for the reason that it was not a revenue measure, and was an invasion of the police power reserved to the states.

Justice Day, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court—it will be remembered that Justice Day also delivered the opinion of the Court declaring the Child Labor Law of 1916 unconstitutional—said:

"This statute purports to be passed under the authority of the Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, which gives Congress the power 'to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the



common defence and the general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.'

"Of course, Congress may not, in the exercise of federal power, exert authority wholly reserved to the states. And from an early day the Court has held that *the fact that other motives may impel the exercise of federal taxing power does not authorize the Court to inquire into that subject. If the legislation enacted has some reasonable relation to the exercise of the taxing authority conferred by the Constitution it can not be invalidated because of the supposed motives which induced it . . .*

"Nor is it sufficient to invalidate the taxing authority given to the Congress by the Constitution that the same business may be regulated by the police powers of the states.

"The act may not be declared unconstitutional because its effect may be to accomplish another purpose as well as the raising of revenue. If the legislation is within the taxing power of Congress—that is sufficient to sustain it."

Concurring in the decision of Justice Day were Justices Holmes, Brandeis, Clarke and Pitney. Those dissenting were Chief Justice White, Justices McKenna, Van Devanter and McReynolds. The dissenting justices held that the act of Congress in attempting to regulate the distribution of narcotics beyond the point of assisting in the collection of revenue was unconstitutional as an exercise of power not delegated; that is, the reserved police power of the states.

This advanced position taken by the Court is all the more interesting because it follows closely on the decision of the United States v Blunt (255 Fed. 332), in which the Circuit Court of Appeals, speaking through Judge Mack, delivered an able opinion declaring section 2 of the Harrison Act unconstitutional. Therefore, the Doremus case may be looked upon as a forerunner of judicial action on the Child Labor Tax Law (*supra*) which will be considered by the Supreme Court in the next few months.

Furthermore, the Doremus Case is of vital importance because the Child Labor Tax Law is practically a re-enactment of the Keating-Owen Child Labor Law, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court (38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 529) in the case of Hammer v Dagenhart. However, the Child Labor Law was passed under the interstate commerce powers of Congress; the Child Labor Tax Law of 1919 was enacted under the guise of a tax measure.

The positions taken by the justices of the Supreme Court with regard to the extension of federal power are noteworthy when taken in connection with the probable action of that Court upon the

Child Labor Tax Law. Justice Day, who, in reading the majority opinion of the Court in the Dagenhart case emphatically said that the powers of the states to regulate their purely internal affairs can not be interfered with by the federal power, urged with equal vigor in the Doremus case that so long as legislation enacted has some reasonable relation to the taxing power, it cannot be held unconstitutional.

Justice Holmes, who so strongly dissented in the Dagenhart case, agreed with the majority opinion in the Doremus case that the Harrison Act is no more than a proper extension of federal power. Justice Brandeis and Justice Clarke, both friends to the Child Labor Law, sustained the majority view in the Doremus case in a liberal construction of federal powers.

But Justice McKenna, a friend to the Child Labor Law, has taken the position of a strict constructionist of the taxing powers of the federal government. On the other hand, Justice Pitney, who opposed the extension of the interstate commerce powers of the federal government in the Dagenhart case, has taken the broader view of the taxing powers of Congress and voted with the majority in the Doremus case.

Chief Justice White, Justice Van Devanter and Justice McReynolds, in line with their former position in holding the Child Labor Law of 1916 unconstitutional, in the Doremus case insisted that the Harrison Act also was unconstitutional.

Upon practically the same grounds given in the Dagenhart case, Judge Boyd recently declared the Child Labor Tax Act unconstitutional. But, if the decision in the Doremus case is followed, when the Child Labor Tax Law is presented for the consideration of the Supreme Court—probably next October—that Court will certainly hold that Congress can do under its taxing power what that same Court about a year ago held that Congress could not do under its power to regulate interstate commerce.

## LOBBYING FOR AN IDEAL AT JEFFERSON CITY

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LUCILLE B. LOWENSTEIN

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Cut into the marble above the entrance of the House of Representatives in the magnificent new Capitol at Jefferson City, are the words "Progress is the Law of Life." Inside the Senate in the white space topping the pillars which extend around the gallery and stand behind the President's rostrum, are these words: "Free and fair discussion is the firmest friend of truth." In the lower rotunda is the prophetic caution: "Where there is no vision the people perish."

It was difficult to believe that the members of the 50th General Assembly, the first to occupy these halls, would fail to grasp the significance of the building in which they were assembled. I had seen the 49th General Assembly at work in 1917. They met in a temporary structure, hastily and crudely built after the fire of 1911 had destroyed the old Capitol. The temporary stucco building was unsightly, unclean and entirely inadequate in capacity. One felt no inspiration in the environment.

But the new Capitol is significant of the times. The great war has forced upon us a realization of the need of changes in our social, industrial and political life. As the state needed a new home after 1911, so the state needs to-day a new structure to meet conditions of the new world now being created.

With war experiences fresh in their minds and with a vision of a new idealism before them, the people of Missouri set a high standard of accomplishment for the legislature which convened at Jefferson City on January 8, 1919. An unusual number of important measures were submitted. It was, first of all a revision session calling for a general overhauling of the statutes. The call for a constitutional convention, the ratification of the federal prohibition amendment, tax-reform, workmen's compensation, changes in the election laws, improvement of rural schools, woman suffrage, reform in judicial procedure, road laws, were only a few of the more important matters considered by the body.



No measure submitted to the 50th General Assembly, however, was so important to the state, morally, materially and spiritually as the children's code, for, as Judge Lindsey declared in his address to the legislature in its support, "The child is the state."

This set of bills, 51 in number, was drawn to secure extensive revision of the laws relating to the children of Missouri. It was the product of four years' careful work on the part of the Missouri Children's Code Commission, originally appointed by the Governor in 1915 and reappointed in 1917, when the 49th General Assembly had failed to enact the full set of measures. Considerable progress had been made at that session. An act creating juvenile courts in the smaller counties of the state (the six largest counties were already covered), one establishing mothers' pensions throughout the state, one requiring court decree for adoption of children, one providing for the treatment of incorrigible minors over the juvenile court age, and several other measures were enacted. That had been only a beginning, however; the greater part of the work was uncompleted.

The Commission submitted the remainder of the measures to the 50th General Assembly in 1919, confident that the lessons learned from the war would, among other things, influence the legislature to create higher standards for the education and protection of children.

But those of us who looked for great progress in this movement at the 1919 legislature encountered many disappointments. We saw both Houses reject the bill to prohibit the marriage of insane and feeble-minded persons. We heard the House grow eloquent over the discussion of a bill to license dogs and then we watched it defeat the measure to safeguard children employed in street trades in the crowded cities. We grew uncomfortable when the Senate passed the bill to create a "Boxing Commission" to permit pugilistic matches, and then killed the bill forbidding men to call little children from play and place them at hard labor. We grew impatient when the St. Louis and Kansas City delegations blocked the passage of a bill to prevent hasty marriages because of a possible loss in revenue. We became discouraged when we heard men oppose raising the age marriage for girls from 12 to 15 years. Day after day of the four months we read and pondered: "Where there is no vision the people perish."

Thirty-nine of the 51 bills finally passed the House and were sent to the Senate for final action. There, delay after delay was met until the closing days of the session. On the day set for adjournment a 4-hour filibuster, led by Senators Casey of Kansas City, McGruder of Pettis County and McCullough of Knox County against the keystone bill of the code (permitting the county court to appoint a county superintendent of public welfare) not only killed this bill but carried 14 other code bills to defeat. The right of way was given local bills and salary increases. The Senate adjourned too busy to consider measures designed to protect America's future citizens. And as we left the Capitol, we read again: "Where there is no vision the people perish."

The following 25 of the Children's Code bills passed both Houses. Five were vetoed by the Governor, as indicated; the remaining 20 have become law.

#### EDUCATIONAL MEASURES

(1) Compulsory school attendance act, requiring full-time attendance throughout the state for children between 7 and 16 years of age, unless they have completed the eighth grade; the act applies to feeble minded, deaf, blind and crippled children where special classes have been established as provided in House Bill 48 which was enacted into law; requiring attendance of children between 14 and 16 years of age in continuation schools for at least four hours a week between the hours of 8 a. m. and 5 p. m. and requiring all children under 18 years of age who have not completed the eighth grade to attend these schools for the same length of time, The county superintendent of public schools shall appoint a county school attendance officer who shall have the power of Deputy Sheriff in the enforcement of the school attendance law.

(2) An act establishing special classes in the public schools for deaf, blind and feeble-minded children in any school district in which there are ten or more such children of each type. In districts in which there are less than ten children in any of these classes of defectives, boards of education in adjoining districts which collectively have ten such children in need of instruction may establish these classes. These classes must be approved by the state superintendent of public schools and state aid to the amount of \$750 a year for each teacher employed in the instruction of these pupils shall be granted. The act further provides that in districts in which no special classes have been provided the State Board of Charities is authorized to take charge of and provide for the training of feeble minded, deaf and blind children under the age of 16 years who have not attained the eighth grade. In case the parent is unable to bear such expense the same may be charged to the county in which the child resides.

(3) \*Placing the supervision of the educational work in the reformatories for children in the state superintendent of public schools and requiring certificates for the teachers of these institutions.

#### CHILD LABOR

(4) Prohibiting the employment of children under 14 years of age in any gainful occupation in the state, except that, during the hours when the schools in the district are not in session, such children may work in agricultural pursuits and domestic service; notice of the hours of work for children under 16 years of age must be posted in every establishment employing such children.

(5) No child under the age of 16 shall be permitted to work at or in connection with dangerous machinery or in any mine or underground work; no girl under the age of 18 years shall be employed in carrying telegraphic dispatches or in messenger service.

#### FOR DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

(6) \*An act providing for the mandatory commitment and discharge of dependent, delinquent and immoral feeble-minded persons after a process of petition, hearing in the courts, certification by competent examiners.

(7) An act authorizing the establishment of out-door camps for the employment of feeble-minded in connection with the institution at Marshall; to segregate the feeble-minded and epileptic at the institution.

#### FOR DELINQUENT CHILDREN

(8) \*The separation of the Training School for Boys from the Reformatory at Boonville.

(9) Prohibiting the commitment of dependent and neglected children to the state reformatory and placing the jurisdiction of cases of commitment in the juvenile court.

(10 and 11) Revision of the statutes relating to the commitment of girls to the Industrial Home at Chillicothe and at the home for negro girls at Tipton to permit the commitment of girls up to 21 years; prohibiting the commitment of dependent and neglected girls to these reformatories; providing for the appointment of women attendants to accompany the girls committed to the institutions.

#### FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

(12) \*Establishment of a State Home for Dependent Children for their temporary care pending placement in family homes. An appropriation of \$30,000 is made.

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\*Vetoed by the Governor.



(13) Making the statute relating to abandonment of children apply to the child born out of wedlock.

(14) Providing a fund of \$2,000 for the extradition of wife and child deserters in St. Louis.

#### GENERAL MEASURES

(15) Creation of a Division of Child Hygiene in the State Board of Health, having the following duties: educational campaigns on the care of the baby and hygiene of the child; study of the causes of infant mortality; prevention of the diseases of childhood, supervision and regulation of the physical inspection of school children and of the sanitary conditions of public schools.

(16) Prohibiting the employment of women three weeks before and three weeks after childbirth.

(17) \*Making it a duty of the State Board of Charities to see that proper accommodations are made for dependent, defective and delinquent negroes in state or county institutions.

(18 and 19) Establishing the age of marriage for girls at 15 years. And six revision bills to harmonize the statutes relating to children.

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\*Vetoed by the Governor.

## STREET TRADING IN OHIO

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WILMA I. BALL

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"Paper! Paper! All about the big"—and the boyish voice breaks into a shrill falsetto that fills the ears of the passerby with noise instead of news. Anyone visiting the leading cities of Ohio, has heard the lusty cry of the street boy on all sides, and has seen his intense face, with its roving, calculating eye, his ever open mouth, with lips distorted for the next call, and the experienced gesture of the dirty little hand held up for pennies.

To the eye of the casually observant purchaser such a child is the "enterprising little fellow" getting his first business training, or he is the "poor little fellow" who needs the help that pennies will give him. If he is an especially young child, then so much the more does he gain their sympathy—and their pennies. To the eye of the thoughtful observer however, such indiscriminate business training is not to be wholly admired, nor is the boy to be pitied and then purchased from; rather is he to be pitied and then sent home—and if the home is not a fit place for the child, then something further is to be done, and if the home cannot support that child, then something still further is to be done about him. At any rate, the little fellow from 7 to 13 or 14 should not begin his business career on the down-town streets at all hours of the day or night, nor should he have the streets offered to him as the only alternative for an unfit home, nor should he be expected to bear the burden of the family's financial emergencies.

Yet we have found in Ohio in our work for the regulation of newspaper selling, that it was this type of public opinion which it was the hardest to combat. The public is bound to laud the boy as a "manly little fellow" who "sells papers so he can support his widowed mother," and this public is wholly blind to the consideration that neither the mother nor society has the right to make such a demand of a child, that the state itself should take care of the situation.

In Ohio there are three large cities, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Columbus, and several smaller ones, Akron, Dayton and Youngstown, which in their down-town sections have large city conditions. Both Cleveland and Cincinnati have these conditions in several secondary centers. These larger cities all publish one or two morning dailies with a Sunday edition, and one or two evening papers, a large number of which are controlled by the Scripps-McRae League. For the rest, Ohio is made up of small towns, which receive daily editions of city papers or publish small editions of local papers. In these lesser places it is probable that selling conditions are not injurious to the boy, but in the small and the large cities they are highly unfavorable and have been so for many years.

Cleveland and Cincinnati are the only two cities which have ordinances of any kind regulating street selling. The first street trades ordinance for Cincinnati was passed in 1909 and prohibited boys under 10 and girls under 16 from selling newspapers and merchandise or working as bootblacks, and also specified that every boy under 14 should wear a permit and badge which was to be issued to him by some one authorized by the mayor when such person was "satisfied" that the boy was 10 years or upwards. No boy wearing a badge could sell before 6 a. m. or after 8 p. m. In 1913 the selling age for boys in the business districts was raised to 12 years, the permit age to 18 years and the age for night work to 15 years. This ordinance which now stands has done much for the newsboys in Cincinnati, and yet it has serious defects. In the first place, requirements for the proof of age are left to the discretion of the person administering the law. To be logical, the same proof of age should be required of a boy who wishes to sell papers, as is required of a boy when he goes into a factory. It would seem much wiser too, to place the administration of the law in the hands of the Board of Education, which has all the facilities for judging the effect of the occupation upon the child's mental, physical and moral progress.

In January, 1919, the Trownstine Foundation in Cincinnati published an intensive study of the newsboy situation there. This study was made by Maurice B. Hexter, Superintendent of the United Jewish Charities. It throws the light of shameful facts upon the truancy, health, retardation in school and delinquency of newsboys, and the character of many supply men, and points out the weakness



in the present method of distributing newspapers to the boys. It is a report which is a combined map and compass to anyone venturing to study the same problem in other communities.

The Columbus Associated Charities has lived through a diverse drama of struggle with the situation. More than a year ago it collected the best material and experience available on the handling of this type of selling, and drafted an ordinance. The Board of Education indicated its willingness to be responsible for the issuing of badges but the members of the City Council, although apparently approving the ordinance did not want to rouse the antagonism of the newspapers. The Charities therefore went to the newspapers and endeavored to secure their approval of the ordinance. It is reported that the newspapers "seemed interested and eager to keep girls and small boys especially out of the down-town sections of the city" but when it came to setting their hand and seal to a 12-year age limit for boys and an 18-year age limit for girls, their conviction for some reason did not carry so far. It was next suggested that the matter came under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court which already had authority to prevent small boys from engaging in street trades under dangerous conditions on the theory that when a parent or guardian permits a child of tender age to pursue such trades, he is contributing to the child's delinquency. Here the matter was left with the result that begging in the guise of selling papers or chewing gum was done away with; but the small boys and girls still roam at large about the capitol building, and around the square and business streets of Columbus.

Although the Juvenile Court cooperated in Columbus, this would never serve as a state-wide method of solving the problem because the standards of the Juvenile Courts vary with their judges. In one of the smaller cities, for instance, the judge of the Court of Domestic Relations recently said, "Then there is the boy who is assisting in supporting his family when the meager wages of the bread-winners are insufficient to supply the necessities of the family; he cheerfully assumes the responsibility and learns early the duty owed to the persons depending on him for support. Boys of this class are not found in Juvenile Court, but by legislative enactment we attempt to deprive him of the mental, physical and financial opportunity because a small percentage of urchins engaged in selling papers are found stealing, gambling and begging." Yet the proposed legisla-

tion to which this referred, attempted only to prevent the boy under 12 from selling. It is extremely difficult to understand the point of view that would approve of a boy under 12 assuming even partial support for a family, or would regret the withholding of a "mental, physical and financial opportunity," questionable at best for the boy under 12. Boys of 10 or 11 should earn their spending money in the neighborhood, under the supervision of parents or friends, and certainly no parent is worthy of the name who solves his financial difficulties by the inhuman method of passing them on to the little children. An adequate income, earned by the adult members of the family is the only basis for a normal family life; and if for explainable reasons this fails, parents or guardians should call first upon the state for aid—not upon the child.

Cleveland has an embarrassment of riches in ordinances, there now being on the statute books one written in 1910 and another in 1912. Their provisions are entangled to the distraction of everybody, though by careful examination it can be discovered that no boy under 10 or girl under 18 shall at any time pursue any trade upon the streets of the city, and that if a minor wishes to engage in street trading he must wear a badge, and that no boy under 16 shall sell before 5 o'clock in the morning or after 8 o'clock at night. But these ordinances were never enforced, and the situation they were designed to improve, has with the great increase in population, grown steadily worse.

In December, 1915, Newton D. Baker, then mayor of the City of Cleveland wrote to Miss Myrta Jones, President of the Consumers' League the following letter:

"I have been very much agitated recently about the wasteful effects of street trades for boys, and have wondered whether our local Consumers' League could not examine into that situation for the consumer's point of view and both find out some interesting data and perhaps constructively agitate for better conditions. The more I think of it the more distressed I am at the wide-spread evil which an occupation like this effects among these boys. Every now and then we hear of some merchant prince who used to sell newspapers, but he, of course, is always one out of many thousands and is rather a brand plucked from the burning than illustration of the normal working out of the newsboys' occupation. These boys, of course, ought to be in school, or if they are at work they ought to be at the bottom round of a ladder which leads to somewhere rather than on the top round of a ladder which has but one round. I need not discuss the obvious disadvantages of down-town street associations with children, but there is

an incidental advantage in the European system of turning the vending of newspapers over to elderly men and women in the fact that the unseemly noise of the newsboys disappears and this agitation would be popularized by its anti-noise aspects among those who would not be stirred to the remoter but more real advantages of an effort to rescue child life from temptation and arrested development because of the nature of the trade."

The Consumers' League then made an investigation which emphasized the extreme youthfulness of the boy sellers in Cleveland, their retardation in school and the heavy truancy score against them. A report on this investigation was published in the Consumers' League Bulletin and was widely circulated in the hope of creating an enlightened opinion about newsboys. The Cleveland Settlement Union also contributed to the publicity.

In the summer of 1918 as a part of the activities of the Children's Year Committee, the Consumers' League of Ohio and the Cleveland Committee on Women and Children in Industry of the Council of National Defence, in desperation employed a police woman to enforce the ordinance. Her duties were to make arrests, issue warnings, take second offenders to the Juvenile Court, and cooperate with the truancy department of the Board of Education. The Consumers' League meanwhile began agitating for the necessity of some state provision. It was pointed out that the city ordinance plan was not a good one because it is so irregular, not only because some cities of a state may have it, and others not, but because much irregularity in protection of child life does not reflect credit to the state. When it comes to state legislation Ohio has exceptionally good laws. They provide that no boy may go to work until he is 15 and no girl until she is 16, and that boys between 15 and 16 and girls between 16 and 18 must have employment certificates. Street traders may certainly be classified as child laborers, and should logically be included in state protection. The Consumers' League therefore drew up a bill to regulate street trades by legislative enactment, correlating its provisions with the compulsory education laws and the child labor laws of the Ohio Code. Organizations interested in child welfare in almost every large city in the state, as well as the Industrial Commission and other sociological and legal experts had a voice in the framing of this bill, so that it represented the opinion of those whom society consults regarding the protection of children. This bill was introduced in the Senate by the leader of



the majority party. The first hearing was shortly called and was attended by representatives from the Consumers' League of Ohio, the Consumers' League of Toledo, the Newsboys' Association of Toledo, the Consumers' League of Cincinnati, the Juvenile Protective Association of Cincinnati and the Committee on Women and Children in Industry, Council of National Defence, all of whom spoke for the bill. There were no newspaper representatives at this meeting. Letters from endorsing organizations representing thousands of buyers of papers were read, and they all unhesitatingly endorsed the bill. The Committee on Labor therefore voted the bill out of committee unanimously, and its friends rejoiced.

After this a brief period passed, and then the newspapers rose to audibility, and asked for another hearing, on the ground that they had not been notified of the first hearing and were therefore not represented, and their side of the case had yet to be heard. A second hearing was called, and at this hearing the committee wobbled in the presence of the newspaper delegation which was large and impressive and at last convincing. And the ground on which they were convincing was that no state law was necessary, because the papers themselves were blocking out a permanent plan to "clean up" the situation. It is interesting to note that one of the technical elements which defeated the bill was that in Ohio there is no constitutional definition of cities of the first, second or third class. The bill therefore had to say merely "in any city" and this included the smallest town and village; no way could be found to get around this. Another consideration which entered into the defeat of the bill was that in the larger cities the number of employers was comparatively small. In the first place morning papers were for the most part not the offenders, and when the circulation managers of the evening newspapers asked that they be given the opportunity of taking care of the situation themselves, before legislation was brought to bear. The Senate committee acquiesced. It was an easy solution for the committee but it is going to be a difficult one for the newspapers.

The first steps toward this state-wide regulation by the papers themselves have already been taken. An agreement governing street trades has been drawn up by the Scripps-McRae League of Newspapers, and signed by the three Toledo papers; other syndicate and non-syndicate papers in other cities are being approached one by

one. The agreement which they are asked to sign provides an 11-year age limit for down-town sections, and states that no boy under 12 years of age shall be allowed to sell before 7 a. m. or after 7:30 p. m., during the baseball season (which is defined as approximately from April 23 to October 10), or after 6:30 p. m. during the balance of the year. Up-to-date, indexed records of the names, ages and addresses of all down-town street sellers between the ages of 11 and 14 are to be kept, and every circulation department employee will be instructed to report violations to his superior. The papers further propose to use every precaution in selecting the personnel of their circulation departments so that the character of the newspaper employees who come in contact with the boy street sellers and carriers will be above reproach. Cooperation with all the constituted authorities in the prevention of truancy and other forms of juvenile delinquency will be solicited and constantly maintained. "We recognize the fact," the agreement finally states, "that each newsboy and carrier is a respectable citizen of the commonwealth and that our first duty is to conserve the spiritual, mental and physical welfare of the youth of every community."

The newspapers thus voluntarily assume the burden of remedying the situation, and it is earnestly hoped that this new method of self-supervision may not fail with the failure of the individuals delegated to carry it out, but may become a concomitant part of the newspaper organization.

When the present intolerable conditions among the sellers shall be regarded by the papers as a "sore spot" in the circulation department and eliminated on that basis, just as other poor business methods in other departments are eliminated, then a long step will have been taken toward the "spiritual, mental and physical" well-being of the sellers.

## A SUGGESTION FOR HOME SERVICE IN CHILD WELFARE WORK

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W. H. SWIFT

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In order that every American child may be brought to his fullest and best (we as Americans can be content with nothing less), different forces must be brought to bear to the same good end, and many agencies must be brought into active cooperation. Care must be taken that these forces act in harmony and unite through the agencies into a complete system. Good laws must be enacted and proper and sufficient agencies must be created to enforce and carry out their provisions. It is one thing to write laws; it is another and quite a different matter to carry them out effectively.

Most American children requiring special attention live in the country. Somehow the city child manages to get rather careful attention. The active social agencies are in our cities. It follows then that in our thinking for social construction (I purposely avoid the word reconstruction) we must give most attention to the problems gathering about the rural child.

In most rural counties there are not sufficient available funds for the employment of a county truant officer, a probation officer, and still another officer to have the oversight of the public welfare of the county. He who will formulate a plan for a combination officer or office for all this work and will arrange the plan so that it will work without destructive friction will confer a benefit upon rural American life. Something of this sort will have to be done if we are to get on. Whoever studies these questions finds this need.

The working out of this combination agency for social work, the enactment of a proper and complete system of laws for the conservation of children and the creation of all agencies necessary for child welfare is the work of the National Child Labor Committee and other related organizations. The National Child Labor Committee, the Children's Bureau and other national organizations working in cooperation with state organizations have aroused in the minds of the citizens of every state a deep interest in the



enactment of proper laws and in the creation of proper administrative agencies for the care and development of every child.

The increasing interest which legislatures are showing in child welfare matters and the steps which are being taken in many states looking to the making of children's codes are evidences that this part of the work is being done well in that it is being done both generally and constructively. We may trust these organizations to look out for the law and the administrative agencies.

In all probability this is all that these national and state organizations will undertake to do. Certainly it is all that they will attempt for a long time. They will be busy enough in the work to which they have already set their hands. It would be a great mistake for any of them to undertake to do more than to secure proper laws and good and sufficient machinery for enforcing the law and applying legal remedies in proper cases. While there is a great tendency toward completer systems and a very clear demand for a more perfect organization of the state legal machinery for social service, the laws of most states are still unsystematized and even unrelated. Not infrequently a child is taken out of the shop but left on the street. The child labor law is one act of legislation; the compulsory education law is another. No one until recent years thought about fitting them up together. The law books are full of such cases, and it will be no small job to straighten them out.

But even if in time this task is completed, there will yet remain much to be done. Laws may be dead letters. Officials and state agents often do little but draw pay. For efficiency and perfect functioning we must look to another source. Local public sentiment will always be a very strong factor in the solution of the many problems which will arise. In fact until the people in the community know conditions and demand that something be done, not much will be done. The community forces must be brought into play.

In almost any community, certainly in most communities there are those who are ready, willing and able to bring the aid required for any social condition. A majority of the people want to see the law bear its full fruitage and the agencies created to promote constructive conservation function freely. They want the best that is to be had and are willing to pay for it in time, effort and cold hard money. But they are for the most part unorganized. Even when

they are organized it is into little groups working in a haphazard sort of way—here a little and there a little. Their forces need to be united.

We have learned what can be done by a national organization when it works for the public good. The Red Cross has taught us this most effectively. Our people have learned the joy of helping and are now looking for something to do. This enthusiasm must be directed to definite ends and kept in a self-renewing state—or else it will die. The war is over and the Red Cross will find its war work growing less and less.

In view of all these matters and for the sake of the American child I suggest that the Red Cross through its Home Service Department undertake to organize the local forces in every community and to do the local case work. The Red Cross knows how to do this work, and can do it. If the Red Cross does not do the work, it will, in my opinion, go largely undone and numbers of American children will continue to suffer neglect.

## HOW OUR COURTS INTERPRET CHILD LABOR LAWS

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THERESA WOLFSON

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Up to date much of the energy expended by the social worker on the child labor problem has been in the field of legislation. It was taken for granted that the only way to prevent the improper employment of children was to enact a law against the evil and that since the industrial field would thus offer no opportunity to the child worker, the child would of necessity step into the realm of books and knowledge. Little notice is taken even by the interested public of the fact that courts declare laws unconstitutional—that no law is so drawn as to make it immune to legal attack—and that no law will accomplish anything unless it is heartily endorsed and enforced by public opinion.

The United States Department of Labor issues each year a compilation of the decisions of courts affecting labor. These are the decisions of higher courts—courts of last resort for cases on appeal. Twenty representative cases involving the interpretation of the child labor laws of various states, and covering a period of three years—from 1915 to 1917 inclusive, were used as the basis of this article.

The uniform child labor law fixes the age at which a child may be employed and the hours of labor, and makes special provisions for employment in dangerous occupations. These three phases furnish the points of contention for the majority of cases brought to court. Eight out of 20 cases were concerned with working children below the legal age who had received injuries of some sort while thus illegally employed.

Fifteen year old Fannie A. brought action against a New York laundry for the loss of her right hand through an injury received while in the employ of the company. She was placing a napkin in a steam mangle, the article being first placed upon a convex brass table and pushed under a felt-covered roller two inches in diameter whence it emerged to be taken up by the ironing rollers. The felt roller revolved so as to carry the napkin forward between the iron-



ing rollers. The general manager testified that the purpose of the smaller roller was that of guard. The court held that the roller was only incidentally if at all intended as guard and that it was not a proper guard under the statute. The local court awarded the girl \$12,000 but the higher court reduced the amount to \$9,000 because of the fact that the girl had only been earning \$4.50 a week.

In this case the girl was working illegally at dangerous machinery, since the minimum age in New York at which a girl may work in such hazardous occupation is 16 years.

Another suit involving similar points of contention was brought up in Pennsylvania. A coal company brought action against an insurance company for the amount paid by the former as damages to an injured minor. The latter company made answer that the injury was caused by a minor under 18, employed contrary to the statute which forbids the employment of such minors at switch tending, and as brakemen, engineers and motormen upon railroads. The coal company contended that the boy was injured while working on a private narrow gauge railroad, not a public carrier. The lower court rendered a decision in favor of the insuring company. The higher court upheld this decision, the interpretation being, "the legislative thought was to protect minors under 18 years of age against dangers incident to switch tending and the operating of engines on railroads."

All of the eight final decisions were in favor of the minors involved. Several were reversals from the decisions of the lower courts. One reduced the amount of damages awarded.

### COMPENSATION

Under the problem of compensation for injuries received, two factors are considered, first, the question of the application of workmen's compensation, second, the right of the parents to sue for the loss of the child's earnings. Nine cases involving compensation were among the decisions studied. One, involving a question of validity of contract between an employer and an injured minor, 13 years of age, was decided in the lower court of New Jersey in favor of the child. An appeal to a higher court reversed this decision by declaring that the workmen's compensation provision could not apply when the child was employed in violation of the law regu-

lating the employment of children. The boy was given the right to sue through his guardian for damages.

Another suit involved the legal employment of a 14-year old boy who was injured while doing work of a hazardous nature for which he had not been engaged. It was held that the boy could assume the risk of employment.

The Wisconsin Court decided that a boy legally employed and injured at that occupation could not bring liability action against his employer. "He is considered competent to contract as regards subjecting himself to the provisions of the workmen's compensation law, as fully as an adult person."

The Supreme Court of New Jersey affirmed a compensation decision in favor of the company. An injured minor brought suit to recover damages for personal injuries. The defense set up was that the compensation provisions are applicable unless there is a written statement to the contrary in the contract or notice has been given by or to the parent or guardian of the minor employed. On behalf of the plaintiff it was argued that this provision sought to bind minors without their consent, and is invalid in denying them the equal protection of the law. Judgment in the Supreme Court had been for the company, and this was affirmed by the Court of Appeals.

A somewhat similar action with a contrary decision comes from the same state. A minor brought action for personal injuries due to the company's negligence. The company answered upon the ground that the matter was governed by the compensation act. It developed that it had printed on the boy's pay envelope a warning that the provisions of the compensation act were not intended to apply to him. The envelope was handed over to the boy's father. This acted as the written notice of election to avoid the compensation act—therefore, the minor had the right to sue at common law.

Six of these cases were decided in favor of the minor and awards made.

#### HOURS OF LABOR

Only one case involved the factor of illegal hours of labor. A suit was brought against a cotton oil company of Oklahoma by a 15-year old lad, who was injured while adjusting the belt of one of the machines. The occupation which was in itself illegal because of the hazardous nature was further complicated by the charge of

"negligence contributing to the injury." The boy was employed from 7 p. m. to 6 a. m. making 12 hours of night work. The company alleged in defense that it was misled as to his age, since at the time of the boy's employment his mother stated that he was over 16. The trial rendered judgment for the plaintiff which was affirmed by the Supreme Court in a statement that "negligence upon the part of the employer is not sufficient. The statutes prohibiting the act from being done, must be complied with strictly, and if violated the same constitutes negligence upon the part of the employer." The employment of a child under 16 in a factory to do work in violation of the provisions of the statute, was held to be evidence of negligence.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

A series of miscellaneous cases in which two of the decisions were adverse to the claimant and two in favor are next considered. In one a 16-year old boy employed as water boy had his right hand caught in the gears of a stone crusher. Compensation was paid him for several months. He then returned to work at his regular wages of \$9 a week. The Massachusetts court found that his right hand was permanently disabled and awarded compensation accordingly. Later the decree granting compensation for total disability was reversed, with instructions that the boy did not suffer a total loss of wage-earning ability and should therefore be given an opportunity for further hearing for such compensation as he was legally entitled to.

Another suit upheld the right of a father to sue for loss of income of a minor son who had been injured. The Nebraska Court sustained an award made to an injured minor who after having his foot crushed received compensation. During the period of convalescence he attended business school. He returned to work with the same company and was able to command a higher salary. At the time of hearing he was earning \$15 a week which was \$8 more than he received when injured. The award was made upon the basis of the former salary.

#### INTERPRETATION OF THE FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW

The cumulative energy and efforts of years resulted in the passage of the federal child labor law in September, 1916. It is of



great interest to note the five judgments given by various federal districts in the enforcement of this law before it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on June 3, 1918. In Nebraska a broom factory was found guilty of employing three children under 14 years of age, and ten children between the ages of 14 and 16 for more than 8 hours in one day. In Oregon a box factory engaged in interstate commerce, was found guilty of a similar offense—employing a child of 15 for 10 hours a day. A cotton goods firm of Maryland was likewise found guilty. A cooperage company in Oregon employed a boy under 16 for more than 8 hours a day. Another firm operating a cannery in Maryland, was found guilty of employing seven children under 14 and four children between 14 and 16 for more than 8 hours in one day. The courts imposed fines varying from \$50 to \$160. There is no doubt that the law was beginning to be interpreted and enforced in the spirit in which it was construed.

In 1919 a new federal child labor law was passed as an amendment to the Revenue Act. Judge Boyd of the Western Federal District of North Carolina has declared the law unconstitutional, and the case has been appealed to the Supreme Court. This is the decision upon which attention is now centered. How will the second federal child labor law be interpreted?

## IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS IN CHILD WELFARE WORK IN NORTH CAROLINA

ROLAND F. BEASLEY

The North Carolina legislature of 1919 enacted far-reaching measures for child welfare in the state. These may be summarized briefly as follows:

(1) A juvenile court law for the whole state. There are 100 counties in the state. Each county has a clerk of the superior court resident in the county who is the local clerical official for the 20 superior court districts embraced in the state, with rotating judges. This official was made ex-officio judge of each county juvenile court. These men are laymen of good sound judgment, representative men of their counties, elected by the people for 4-year periods for important positions, and make up a body of 100 men who are perhaps as well qualified to become judges of juvenile courts as any other group that could have been selected.

The new juvenile law is thoroughly modern, containing all the provisions usually contained in such laws. To these juvenile court judges is given exclusive jurisdiction of all children under 16 who may be delinquent, dependent or neglected.

(2) A county superintendent of public welfare must be elected in each county by the commissioners and the county board of education, and paid a salary and expenses from the public funds of these boards. These officials are the chief probation officers of the county and the chief school attendance officers; a sufficient number of assistants is to be provided when needed. While elected and paid as above stated, the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare possesses a check over them by reason of a provision requiring a certification of efficiency from the State Board before they can draw salaries of any kind.

(3) The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare is given the power to appoint three persons in each county who will act as an advisory county board, and as an intermediate agent between the state and county authorities in seeing that the social work generally,

especially that relating to children, is well carried on. We are thus enabled to have in each county three public-spirited citizens, who serve without pay and from a sense of social responsibility, to help in inaugurating and guiding the work generally, under state oversight.

(4) A combined compulsory school attendance and child labor law which is designed not only to prevent children under 14 from engaging in harmful employment and to see that all children between the ages of 8 and 14 are in school not less than six months in the year, but to act, in connection with the county superintendent of public welfare, as a general child welfare agency.

(5) The establishment as a state institution of an orthopedic hospital sufficient to offer surgical treatment for crippled children and special lines of education, when needed.

(6) The enlargement of the school for delinquent girls, already an important institution run according to the suggestions of Mrs. Martha P. Falconer of Sleighton Farm.

(7) The doubling of the capacity of the institution for the feeble-minded, which, when the new buildings provided for are erected, will be able to take care of 400 persons, principally boys and girls.

(8) A slight enlargement of the training school for delinquent boys.

(9) An act extending aid to parents who are unable by reason of poverty to send their children to school when such is ascertained by the juvenile court to be the fact.

(10) Sufficient support for the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare to enable it to create and maintain a special department for delinquent, dependent and neglected children. This work will consist principally in securing sufficient information upon which to base future acts of legislation and policy, and to enable the local officials to have expert advice in case work, and help in favorably disposing of children who come under their care.

I do not believe that any state has accomplished more thorough-going legislation at one sweep than this. Of course this gives us merely the legal machinery. Its realization must be worked out. The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare has ample authority over and contact with the public and private agencies, and must license and inspect all child-caring agencies. Among the private



agencies already in existence are 20 private orphanages and one child placing agency. The counties range in population from 10,000 to 60,000, 60 having a population under 25,000, and 40 over that figure. Most of the counties are rural. We have succeeded in putting every child, whether rural or urban, under a uniform juvenile court and probation law, and my conviction is that North Carolina is well under way to a well developed, well balanced, state-wide system of child welfare work, in which the influence of the general and local agencies will be properly coordinated and made to fit.

## THE WORK OF THE CHILD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

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LUCY WOOD COLLIER

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A campaign for the health of school children has been launched during the past year that promises to put the vital teaching of health habits into every schoolhouse in the country.

The draft rejections for physical defects revealed a tragic failure in the schools of yesterday. Alarmed by this appalling count of physical defects in the young men of the country, public health men and educators turned with keen interest to the health problems of the present generation of children. The amazing discovery was then made that little was known about the health of American school children. From the statistics of school medical inspection and special studies made in rural districts, it was estimated that 15,000,-000 children in the United States are suffering from some physical defect that might be prevented or corrected.

Public attention was at this time drawn to an index of child health, so simple that the child himself could apply it. At the two pioneer nutritional clinics under the direction of Dr. William R. P. Emerson in Boston and Dr. Charles Hendee Smith in New York, it was demonstrated that for a given height and age there is a standard weight. This so-called standard weight is an index of nutrition which is the best sign of health, and wide deviation from which is a danger signal that all is not well. Children 10 per cent or more under weight for height are to be regarded as improperly nourished, and should be classed in the group known as "malnutrition." Such children are usually lacking in physical vigor. They should be regarded as children in danger, fit subjects for tuberculosis or other chronic diseases.

In these clinics, children were taught and studied in groups, in order to interest the children themselves in building up their health. With the scales keeping the score, and the doctors giving the rules, the pursuit of health became a competitive game, in which keen rivalry was developed as to who could climb over the top first.

It was shown that there was always a reason for underweight that could be found and corrected. Food, while the most important, was only one of the factors. Decayed teeth, constipation, insufficient sleep, lack of fresh air, and exercise, bad habits of eating are some of the other causes.

Astonishing facts about the lack of health habits among school children were revealed by this nutritional work. It was found that many children went to school without any breakfast, or that the usual breakfast consisted of bread with tea, or coffee. Milk, cereals, green vegetables, and fruit were little used, the diet consisting too largely of starches, meats, thin soups and sweets. Almost all the children were suffering from constipation and too few hours of sleep.

Health studies made later in various parts of the country show that this dangerous lack of proper health habits exists in city and country schools, and is by no means confined to children of the so-called ignorant classes. From these studies, it was estimated that approximately 6,000,000 children were suffering from malnutrition in the United States. The nutritional clinics had shown that health could be made a game that every child could play. The experts said that the health of the children was in danger. The question naturally arose, "Why not play this new health game in every school of the land?"

In June, 1918, the Child Health Organization was formed for the purpose of interesting the schools throughout the country in the use of the scales as an index of health, and in the daily teaching of health habits. The organization realized that only through existing agencies and groups could it hope to wage a nation-wide campaign for child health. At the request of Secretary Lane, of the Department of the Interior, the Child Health Organization created a special division within the Department of School Hygiene of the Federal Bureau of Education. The Director of Field Work served on a dollar-a-year basis, directing this work of stimulating interest in child health through the schools of the country. Literature prepared by the Child Health Organization has been printed on the government presses and sent out upon request, free of charge, to the teachers of the country. As a result of this government work alone, it is estimated that over 10,000,000 children in thirty states have kept monthly weight records and are being taught health habits.



In addition to this government cooperation more than 800 public health, social and educational groups are now pushing in their own communities our program for child health. Because of our advocacy of monthly weighing of school children, three of the largest cities in the country have already put a pair of scales in every school. Many others are following their lead. Over 29 normal schools have requested and received help in training their students in the methods of teaching health habits. Public health workers have asked for literature and guidance in Alaska, Brazil, Canada, China, France, India, Japan, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, Egypt, Hawaii and Bohemia.

One reason for the remarkable growth of this child health campaign has been the simplicity and directness of its program. The following brief appeal, printed on a hand bill enclosed in every letter sent out by the organization has convinced many a school superintendent of the practicability of introducing health work in his school.

#### WHAT CAN YOU DO TO GIVE EACH CHILD A CHANCE AT HEALTH

*See that* A Weighing Scale is placed in every school.

*See that* Time is allowed every school day for the teaching of health habits.

*See that* A hot school lunch is available for every child.

*See that* Teachers are trained in all normal schools to teach health habits.

*See that* Every child's weight record is sent home on the monthly report card.

These are some of the *first* things to do for your schools.

A special feature of the child health campaign has been the development of literature and other methods of teaching that appeal directly to children. The Child Health Alphabet, written by Mrs. Frederick Peterson, has carried the health message from the school into the home. The older children learn the verses by heart, and the attractive pictures tell the story to the grown-ups, as well as to the younger children

A verse like the following most effectively impresses upon the child's memory the teacher's talk upon the use of the tooth brush.

"There was an old man with a tooth  
That ached till he said it's the truth  
I neglected 'em young, and now I am stung;  
How I wish I had brushed 'em in youth!"

The interest of boys, little and big, is caught by the following:

"There was a boy in our town, whose mother was not wise;  
Coffee and tea he used to get, and grew up under size,  
But when he failed the foot ball team because his size was small,  
He cut out both, and took to milk, and grew up very tall."

Health teaching may be made to vie with the movies and the Hippodrome. The latest addition of the Child Health Organization to its staff is a professional clown, christened Cho-Cho after the initials of the organization. He has proved a great success in schools and playgrounds in administrating health facts, sugar-coated, as it were. He discloses real truths in jesting form, and proves that the process of getting health and strength can be made a happy thing to children, instead of a series of stupid tasks, to be performed as often as not as a punishment.

In the old days, learning was a painful process. "Reading and 'riting and 'rithmetic, taught to the tune of the hickory stick" was the rule, and many a teacher followed the motto of the old schoolmaster: "If you see a sma' boy, gi'e him a crack; if he is not coming fra' mischief, he is going to it."

The learning of health habits still remains to the average child a task to be accomplished at the whim of some grown-up. Habits of health have been taught as a series of rules, to be learned in with didactic "do's and don'ts," but the Child Health Organization believes that health and joy go together, and that learning the rules of health can be made a game, in which children take real delight.

#### RULES OF THE GAME

1. Drinking as much milk as possible, but no coffee or tea.
2. Drinking at least four glasses of water a day.
3. Eating some vegetables or fruit every day.
4. A full bath more than once a week.
5. Brushing the teeth at least once every day.
6. A bowel movement every morning.
7. Play part of every day out-of-doors.
8. Sleeping long hours with windows open.

## WHAT CALIFORNIA DID IN 1919 FOR CHILD PROTECTION

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MRS. BERT SCHLESINGER

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The intensive educational campaign, during the past decade, concerning the waste caused by child labor has resulted in increased legal protection for working children. In California this year our protective legislation was interesting particularly as an attempt to coordinate the laws relating to child labor and education. The child of school age who is at work is recognized as an educational problem. The responsibility for this child is placed with the educational authorities of the state, instead of with the labor authorities as formerly.

Briefly, the compulsory school law has been amended by adding to it all sections relating to work permits. The enforcing power is now vested in the authority which has always issued working permits, the educational department of the state. A new child labor law has been enacted covering the subjects of places, hours, occupations, and conditions of children's work. The subject matter, in ten sections, is arranged in logical sequence and in this respect is a great improvement over the old law in which related subjects were often widely separated. Reports are to be interchanged semi-annually between the state educational group and the bureau of labor statistics. This dovetailing of the laws will bring about an understanding which must result in cooperation.

A questionnaire was sent out throughout the state in an effort to have all those interested take a share in framing the new bills. The questions asked were:

1. In what respect is the child labor law defective?
2. In what respect is the compulsory school law defective?
3. Have any efforts been made to secure exemption regarding

Questions 1 and 2 because of war conditions?

4. How great is the need of assistance to enable children to stay in school?

5. How many prosecutions in the child labor law were made in your community during the year? How many convictions secured?



Answers to Question 5 brought out some interesting facts regarding enforcement, about which we have not hitherto had many data. The answers to Question 1, ranging from personal hobbies, such as, "Make some provision for longer hours for emergency harvesting, preserving and packing food season," through general statements, such as, "Law not far-reaching enough," to sound recommendations, such as, "Educational forces should take enforcing power"—indicate very evidently a large field for educational propaganda.

For the first time, the education and the labor officials "put their feet under the table" with laymen interested in this work for the children. We are fortunate in that the newly elected state superintendent of public instruction is a man of vision who saw that many laws in his department needed to be rewritten and that quite a number touched the child labor field. Realizing the need of coordinating the two sets of laws, Mr. Will Wood worked directly with us in re-framing the child labor and the compulsory school laws. We expect interesting developments from the newly passed law which requires registration of all minors. This will, without doubt, bring to light many violations of both these laws, and within the year we should know the extent of our problem in California.

The shortcomings of our law are fully appreciated. However, it was deemed wiser not to attempt too much and fail—better to expend our energies in the direction where we could hope for success. The way is now open for later amendments. Many will question our decision to compromise with our ideals for the sake of expediency; but experience with the legislatures of 1915 and 1917 brought the realization that it is better to make haste slowly. Legislators are not child labor specialists, they are so-called "practical" men—the bulk of them being farmers, not notably over-burdened with a community spirit. Public sentiment is aroused slowly. Reliable information must be gathered and then presented, so that it becomes part of the brain fibre of the community. Only as public demands change do we progress.

As early as July, 1918, the Juvenile Protective Association of San Francisco called a meeting of the state officials from the Departments of Education, Labor Statistics, and Industrial Welfare, together with representatives from the Child Labor Committee of Northern California, the State Federation of Labor, the local Labor

Council, and the Juvenile Protective Association. The Bureau of Labor Statistics agreed to eliminate sections covering work permits for children of school age from the child labor law, and the educational authorities incorporated these sections into the school law.

The child labor bill was framed by a lawyer, sponsored by the Federation of Labor, introduced by a labor assemblyman, referred to the Committee on Labor and Capital of the Assembly, read out of that Committee to pass, and amended with higher provisions than those in the original bill, despite the lobby maintained at the Capitol by certain newspapers to fight all changes in the bill. This lobby combined with the agricultural interests. They promised, and lived up to their promise, to retire if these amendments were dropped. Thus the original bill passed without opposition.

The following is a digest of California's 1919 child labor law:

Sec. 1. No minor under 16 years shall work. Exemptions: (1) with work permit. (2) Street trades. See Sec. 3½. *Gain*; Age raised from 15 to 16.

Sec. 2. No minor under 18 years shall work more than 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week, or before 5 a. m. or after 10 p. m. Exemptions: See Sec. 5. *Gain*; The straight 8-hour day. The old law permitted a different apportionment of hours to make a shorter day's work one day a week. In other words a half holiday was no holiday, as extra time could be added to the 8 hours on other days.

Sec. 3. Covers messenger, telegraph and telephone service.

No boy under 16 years may work during the day.

No boy under 18 years may work after 9 p. m. or before 6 a. m.

No girl under 18 years may work day or night.

*Gain*; For boys and girls in day service. With shortage of labor during the last two years, the number of girls entering this work caused apprehension. We have always had the night regulation.

Sec. 3½. Street Trades. No boy under 10 years and no girl under 18 years may work in cities of more than 23,000 population. This is the old law. Here we did the expedient thing. The public must help solve this problem by refusing to patronize children engaged in selling on the street. The work can be efficiently done by cripples, old persons, and those who need to work in the open air. In Oakland the newsboys themselves have established a union with a 15-year minimum for membership. We hope that the slogan "Children in the streets need your protection, not your patronage," will soon be regarded as a survival of the dark ages.

Sec. 4. Specified trades dangerous to life, limb, health or morals are forbidden to minors under 16 years. The Bureau of Labor Statistics may make additional listings. Same as the old law.

Sec. 5. This may be called the exemption section. In agriculture and domestic service minors of 16 years may work more than 8 hours a day and more than 48 hours a week during the time the public schools are not in session. Child actors with the written consent of the commissioners of the Bureau of Labor Statistics are exempted from hour and age regulations.

Sec. 6. Provides that employers shall keep a separate register for minors under 18 years. *Gain*; "Separate."

Permits are to be returned to the issuing authority five days after employment ceases. Under the old law permits were returned by the minor. Interchange of semi-annual reports between Board of Education and Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Sec. 7. Penalties. Fine, \$50 to \$200, 60 days' imprisonment in county jail, or both. Provisions concerning distribution of funds between the departments.

Sec. 8. Enforcement. Bureau of Labor Statistics shall enforce provisions of the act.

Secs. 9 and 10. Assure validity of other sections of the law if any one section is declared invalid.

In comparing the California laws with the national and international minima recently set for children of school age, we see our field of effort mapped out. Our next step should be to abolish exemptions. The point of attack will be the age exemption in the street trades law and the age and hours exemptions in agriculture and domestic service. Hours spent in school should be counted as part of the 8-hour day for children under 16 years.

In order to stimulate public interest to bring about these changes we are now trying to work out a scheme of publicity through the women's clubs, which are well organized in this state. Mothers must be made to appreciate the real conditions. Experience and common sense teach that premature work interferes with later earning capacity and with proper physical development, by depriving the child of necessary playtime. The moral dangers of street work in particular must not be overlooked.

"He who helps a child, helps humanity with a distinctness, with an immediateness, that no other help given human creatures in any other stage of their human lives can possibly give."



## REVIEWS OF NEW BOOKS

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RUTH McINTIRE

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OUT OF THE SHADOW. Rose Cohen. Doran, \$2.00.

Rose Cohen is one of the few individuals that child labor employers can cite as a shining and successful product of what one of them has been pleased to consider an "American institution."

A Russian-Jew, coming to New York in childhood, she remained in the intensely racial atmosphere of her people through her formative years. Her gradual awakening to the other life of America, her bitter revolt against the suffering of the working people of the unskilled or semi-skilled grades, the questions she asked of herself in the Fifth Avenue workshop: "Why is there this difference between those who work and those who consume. Do they do nothing but go to dinners, teas, balls, the Opera?"—these are more eloquent arguments than anything that we have read recently against the facile classification of "immigrant" and "American," "poorer class" and "upper class."

What is of special interest to us is her picture of child labor from the inside. We see it in the little figure in the garment sweat-shops, bent over the heavy coats which warmed her in winter, but stifled her in summer, and in the miserable kitchens where she scrubbed and cooked—and starved—as domestic servant. She gives expression to the root evil of child labor: "What with the long periods of idleness after each job, the months of inactivity in the hospital, the natural apathy due to illness, the miserable conditions in the shops, I lost all taste for work, I lost my pride of independence, I lost my spirit."

The first duty of Americanization is opportunity, not instruction in English grammar. How much opportunity meets a foreign child coming as thousands do come to our shores is told by the author. "Although almost five years had passed since I had started for America it was only now (in the hospital) that I caught a glimpse of it. For though I was in America I had lived in practically the same environment which we brought from home. Of course there was a difference in our joys, in our sorrows, in our hardships, for after all this was a different country; but on the whole we were still in our village in Russia. A child that came to this country and began to go to school had taken the first step into the new world. But the child that was put into the shop remained in the old environment with the old people, held back by the old traditions, held back by illiteracy. Often it was years before we could stir away from it, sometimes it would take a lifetime. Sometimes, too, it happened as in fairy tales, that a hand was held out to you and you were helped out."

The schools to-day hold out a hand, but how many children are able to grasp it? A quarter of a million on part-time to-day in New York City alone—

thousands more unable to profit by instruction on account of illness, underfeeding, or employment outside the school. Who is to help them up? *Why do they need such help?*

THE LITTLE TOWN. Harlan Paul Douglass. Macmillan; \$1.50.

Midway between city and country, depending for life upon the latter, thinking of itself as more analogous rather to the former, lies the little town. It is the most American of institutions, but until Mr. Douglass made it the subject of special interest and study it has received only incidental attention. The little town is already a self-conscious unit, its self-consciousness being based upon business and material unity and a sense of superiority over the surrounding countryside. Mr. Douglass would promote its pride to a more ideal basis, resting upon community endeavor toward civic progress and cooperative development; his book describes the little town as it is, its institutions, its occasional notable achievements, and its tools and the uses to which they may more generally be put.

"The little town has a bad reputation as a place to bring up children," he says. "The chief vocational impulse which their environment brings is one of drifting and delaying decision as to life work. This is in sharp contrast with economic seriousness which the average country or city child alike draws from its earliest breath. There are no such extensive 'chores' on the one hand as furnish significant and appropriate labor to the farm boy and girl; and on the other hand, no massed and systematized child-labor such as the city imposes upon immature life." As for youth, "the little town furnishes a few economic opportunities, but too few, and too poorly paid. The little town can out-breed its opportunities and the city must take its surplus." The great gain registered by the little town is that on account of the very lack of opportunity to work, the young boys and girls are kept in school longer than in any other environment. "This is a great gain and permits the little town to furnish, as it always has done, a disproportionate number of the nation's professional leaders." But in order to profit fully by this tendency, the school must be expanded to minister to the child's wider needs. Recreation—more and better opportunities—is necessary; schools for special classes are needed; segregation of defectives is another necessity—for the little town puts up with the unfit.

There is always danger in defining too strictly any phase of human activity, for it is apt in a given case to leap the barriers of definition and be off upon a self-made road. The author is wise in pointing out only the tendency of the type, and the special opportunities open to the 12,000 little towns of America to make their mark in the country's life.

NEW SCHOOLS FOR OLD. Evelyn Dewey. Dutton; \$2.00.

Education as experience is coming to be the concept of modern teaching. "New Schools for Old" is the story of the regeneration of a rural school in a Missouri district. The change was accomplished with the old tools—one-room

school-house, meagre funds, low salary, almost no equipment—but to these was added an awakened community spirit and a teacher who combined definite purpose with teaching ability. This teacher, Mrs. Marie Turner Harvey of the Porter School is among the few who have tried and apparently have been successful in identifying education and experience in the lives of her pupils.

The school when she arrived was typical. The total number of children of school age in the district was 56; the number enrolled in the district school was 23; the average attendance, 13. Many of these children had to do farm work during the fall and spring and under the old grade system they naturally dropped out after a term of discouragement. Mrs. Harvey has stopped graduating pupils. There is no set time when education is finished. She gives high school courses when the pupils are ready for them, and they may continue in school as long as they are able to. The only rule she is willing to give is "Suit the procedure to the occasion."

Her problem has been largely a problem in rural life, as well as rural education. She was familiar at the start with the lives led by the country people. Her pupils, repulsed by the narrow home round, sought amusement, and finally employment in town. But an education that fits rural children only for the farm must be a narrow education at best—no better than a narrow industrial training that fits the child only for industry, and for only one industry at that. The country, however, furnishes education in experience that is priceless if properly used. The country school has not hitherto expanded to meet the increasing lack in the homes. Mrs. Harvey made school gardens the point of attack. She followed this up with pig and poultry clubs, in which even the youngest could share and have responsibility. She made use, and taught her children and their parents how to make use of all the available agencies. Through cooperating with her in an effort to give better opportunities to their children, they learned what mutual cooperation could bring.

Miss Dewey's account is especially notable because it provides an illustration of actual experience on the basis of the most modern educational theory.

THE MENTAL HYGIENE OF CHILDHOOD. William A. White, M.D. Little, Brown; \$1.35.

This is a handbook, somewhat elementary, summarizing modern thought and analysis concerning the mental development of children. The author emphasizes the fact that children have commonly been thought of as small adults, who are moved by the same impulses and controlled by the same methods. That this is now considered a false view, is evidenced by the growth of juvenile courts, by laws prohibiting the employment of children, and by the growing, if tardy, recognition of children's rights. The fact that in this country there was a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals (1823) before there was a society for the prevention of cruelty to children (1874) is significant of our whole past attitude. The battle for the rights of children is not yet won, but it is a hopeful sign that the scientists are engaged in rediscovering our lost childhood. Through them we may some day jog our faded memories to an appreciation of the longings, the needs and the fundamental rights of children.



JUNK DEALING AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. By Harry H. Gregg and George E. Haynes. 25 cents.

There is probably nothing much worse from the hygienic and the moral point of view than junk dealing, particularly when engaged in by boys and girls of 11 years upward. To be sure there are children of 2 that sell to junk dealers, but their occupation may probably be classed as sporadic to say the least. But the older children recently studied by the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago had become more or less regular. The conclusions of the Association regarding this form of child labor are summarized in a pamphlet published by the Association.

"The retail junk business in Chicago is a most serious factor in juvenile delinquency. Dealers repeatedly violate both state laws and city ordinances in their relations with children. Junk men not only readily accept the fruits of the boys' illegal acts, but frequently urge them to steal. Children are exploited through the small prices paid them for loot and by dishonest practices in weighing the material. The business as conducted is not alone a moral menace to minors, but is also fraught with grave dangers to health and physical well being. Retail junk dealers as a group are much too low in the scale of ethics and intelligence to warrant their use in any constructive plan that could be suggested." The Association is wise not to indulge in the fancy that prohibitive legislation will be enough to solve the problem. "The evils of juvenile junking, like many other social problems, go back to the fundamental question of poverty, and until relief is secured in this regard, expectations of improvement elsewhere should not be too sanguine."

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## EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

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The following resolution adopted by The American Protective Tariff League relates to a subject not unfamiliar to our readers:

AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE RESOLUTION	“Resolved, That the American Protective Tariff League demands that The Congress at the earliest possible date shall forbid the importation into this country of any and all competitive goods, wares, articles and merchandise manufactured or produced wholly or in part in any foreign country by children under fourteen years of age or by children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years of age, who shall be so employed at any time for more than eight hours in any day, and that the burden of proof of such non-employment of Child Labor shall be placed upon the foreign owner, or shipper, and upon the owner or importer of such foreign goods, articles, wares, or merchandise.”
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Four or five years ago the editor of *The American Child* sent to Washington an amendment to the pending tariff bill which was introduced in the United States Senate and caused some discussion. The amendment provided for the same prohibition as that proposed in the foregoing resolution but was more far-reaching.

The word “competitive” is significant and appears to indicate the point of view of The American Protective Tariff League. We are forced to raise the question whether the League proposes this legislation to protect children or to protect American manufactures. Frankly, our interest is in the former and if the League wants to get the backing of fair-minded American people we believe it must strike out that obviously selfish word “competitive” and make the welfare of the child the objective. It seems to us that it makes no difference to the little child laborer of England, Japan, or Argentine whether the goods he makes, do or do not, compete with American products.



A recent letter from the Department of Justice, Washington, says: "The case in which Judge Boyd, of the Western District of North Carolina held that portion of the Revenue Act of 1918 applying to child labor unconstitutional has been appealed to the Supreme Court. The Department of Justice will appear and endeavor to sustain the constitutionality of the law." The law is being enforced in all sections of the country, with the exception of the western judicial district of North Carolina, where the injunction against its enforcement issued by Judge Boyd last May is still in force. The extent to which the federal law has affected the number of children engaged in industry can not yet be determined. A report that "child labor has been reduced 40 per cent since the child labor tax law went into effect" has been denied by the Bureau of Internal Revenue, in whose hands the enforcement of the law has been placed. The Bureau reports, however, that while no statistical estimate can be made at this time, a marked reduction in child labor has been noted in some sections of the country, the most noticable decrease occurring in the cotton mill industries of the southern states. By far the larger number of children gainfully employed in the United States are listed in occupations other than those included in the provisions of the federal law. The federal census of 1910 placed the number of children between 10 and 15 years of age employed in farm work at 1,419,098, and those engaged in all other occupations, exclusive of mines and manufacturing establishments, at 338,420. The total number of such children gainfully employed was placed at 1,990,225, and all reports tend to show that this number was greatly augmented during the war period. The percentage of children, therefore, affected by the federal law must be small.

Once upon a time, not so many moons ago, it was argued that child labor was essential to the prosperity of the cotton mills of the south. Now the public is informed that these cotton mills have never been so prosperous as they are today—and that there never were fewer children employed. An article in the *Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier* expresses the gratification and pride felt by the employers of the Palmetto

FEDERAL CHILD  
LABOR LAW

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OF AN OLD  
EXCUSE

State because of both facts. The federal and state laws that have set new standards for the employment of children are referred to with approval, the author of the article evidently reflecting the views of the manufacturers from whom he obtained his data. It is pleasant to know that child labor laws have not obstructed the industrial progress of the south and that the industrial progress of the south is doing away with one of the formerly common excuses for child labor. It is pleasant to know that some of the southern states are putting themselves in the forefront of progress in child welfare work, including the protection of children from child labor, and that in the general field of child welfare some of them are setting examples which might well be followed by some of the northern states. South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky—these and other states are doing things that will compel the north to go to school to the south.

As regards child labor in particular, the article in the *News and Courier* contains a point the significance of which should not be ignored. Special attention is given the effect of higher wages for adults on the child labor situation. As the wages of the adult male earners of the family have advanced, the family has emerged from conditions of poverty or near-poverty and the earnings of the women and children have not seemed necessary to augment the family income. One of the prime causes of child labor is low wages. Any attack on the child labor problem that leaves out of consideration the problem of adult wages is inadequate. Very likely the highest wages for adults in South Carolina are partly due to the effects of legislation taking larger numbers of children out of industry.

The decrease of child labor in South Carolina applies not only to children below the 14-year limit set by federal and state legislation, but to children between the ages of 14 and 16. The explanation is higher wages, the substitution of machinery for cheap child labor, and an increased use of and demand for skilled workers. Better methods of production, better factory management, a stronger regard for human values, have all been potent factors. Evidently child labor can be spared from industry. Child labor is an institution that has not long to tarry.

The National Child Labor Committee's report on "Child Welfare in Kentucky" has just been issued in book form. It contains the findings and recommendations of a group of specialists who worked under the direction of Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D. The chapter headings are as follows: "Introduction," "Health," "Schools," "Recreation," "Rural Life," "Child Labor," "Juvenile Courts," and "Law and Administration." The study was made at the instance and partly at the expense of the Kentucky Child Labor Association and the State Board of Health, and in co-operation not only with these agencies but also the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Co-operative Council of Kentucky, and the Welfare League of Louisville. The report has been well received by the press and people of Kentucky and is being used as the basis for a comprehensive legislative program.

Alabama has been added to the group of southern states which joined the forward march of child welfare legislation in 1919. The creation of a Department of Child Welfare was one of several important achievements in the session of the legislature which closed in August. This department is, perhaps, the most significant part of the child welfare program of the state, since the task of enforcing and making effective the child labor and other child welfare laws of the state will be in the hands of the newly created Child Welfare Department. A child labor law which was passed provides an 8-hour day and 48-hour week for minors under 16 in any gainful occupation (except agriculture and domestic service), strengthens the work permit provisions by requiring 180 days attendance at school or completion of the 4th grade for the issuance of a permit to work under 16 years of age or under 14 outside of school hours, and extends the prohibition of night work. Other new legislation includes a school law providing for administrative changes, the establishment of a state institution for the feeble-minded, and the extension of probation service in connection with the administration of the juvenile court.

Several of the bills passed were the result of recommendations made by the National Child Labor Committee, based upon a survey of child welfare conditions and problems in Alabama by the



Committee's staff. A report of the survey, "Child Welfare in Alabama," was published by the Committee, and widely circulated throughout the state. Mrs. Loraine B. Bush, a member of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, who was largely responsible for the success of the child welfare program in the legislature, has been appointed Director of the Alabama Department of Child Welfare. She has obtained leave of absence from the Committee in order that she may take up the directorship of the work in Alabama.

Delaware is awake to the subject of schools. That is to say, the needs of the schools and of the children who are or ought to be in school are a live issue. Unfortunately there is not unanimity of opinion even as to the existence of needs.

A considerable minority of the people think things are all right, indeed that they *were* all right. The Governor has been repeatedly and numerously petitioned to call a special session of the legislature for the reconsideration of the recently enacted laws. Public meetings are being held to denounce these laws. The opposition is partly political. It is supported by property owners who don't want to pay the taxes that modern educational equipment and service impose. It is supported also by farmers and others who believe in child labor or think they do. Delaware still retains the ancient system of indenture whereby children are bound out to masters until they reach maturity: the objection of the masters to the school code is that it takes the child away from them for 180 school days. The objection of the parents is the same as that of the masters.

We quote from *School Life* as follows: "For the first time in the history of education in the State of Delaware children between 7 and 14 years of age are compelled to attend school every day school is open or at least 180 days. Children 14 or 15 or 16 years of age who are not regularly employed and who have not completed the eighth grade must also attend school every day, while children of the same age, namely, 14, 15 or 16 years of age, may remain out of school until November 1, provided they are regularly employed at home or elsewhere. These children, however, beginning with November 1, must attend school for at least 100 days. In some localities there is some opposition to the compulsory school law on the ground that labor is scarce and that parents need their children to

work on the farms." In the *New York Times*, Pierre S. du Pont, a leader of the School Code forces, is quoted as saying: "For the most part the opposition is sincere. The farmer does not want to pay higher taxes, and it seems to him too costly to spare children nine months of the year from work. To meet that objection, the State Board of Education provided for exemption of pupils until November if needed for farm work, and made the parents sole judges of the case; but in spite of that we had, under the new code, during September and October, an attendance of 85 per cent, which is much higher than it ever had been before. It is apparent that even with the longer term more children will study if we have better schools."

To quiet the clamor against higher taxes needed to replace shacks used for schools, Mr. du Pont donated \$2,000,000 to be used for new buildings. He has set by sixty-three scholarships in Delaware College for the training of teachers, and to offset the objection that "the new laws tax the white man to build nigger schools," he has agreed to build every schoolhouse needed for Delaware negroes. While we gladly applaud the public-spirited gifts of Mr. du Pont, we can not help hoping that the people of Delaware before long will themselves see fit to shoulder their own responsibilities and taxes. We further hope that this good time will not have to await the education of a whole new generation of citizens in privately provided public schools.

The School Code was adopted by the Legislature of 1919, following a report by the General Education Board to a special commission created by the Legislature of 1917. It is contained in a recent publication of the General Education Board entitled: "Public Education in Delaware." Other interesting publications dealing with affairs in Delaware are two Bulletins of the Service Citizens of Delaware: "Report and Recommendations on Certain School Building of Delaware," and "Six Months of Americanization in Delaware." The latter tells the story of the carrying out of an ambitious long-term program initiated by the State Council of National Defense and now financed and conducted by the Service Citizens.

A Virginia newspaper gloats over Delaware. For Delaware has "child slaves"—children from orphanages in that and nearby states who are bound out to masters for their labor. Says SECTIONALISM this newspaper: "It may be surprising to some child labor reformers with a sectional point of view to learn that actual child slavery exists in Delaware in a form which has persisted from the earliest days of that Commonwealth." Ah, "child labor reformers with a sectional point of view"! The coat, we voluntarily asseverate, doesn't fit the National Child Labor Committee, as the National Child Labor Committee has never thought sectionalism or acted sectionalism. But we want to say this: The idea of sectionalism, so far as child labor reform is concerned, is original with certain defenders of child labor and the term is one of their rotten defensive weapons. Child labor is child labor, North or South or East or West, whether in mills, factories, coal mines, beet fields, stores, tenement houses, canneries, or streets, and the Committee proposes to keep up the fight against this national, nation-wide evil until nothing is left of one or the other or both.

When the Minimum Wage Board of the District of Columbia issued its order for a minimum wage of \$16.50 per week for women employed in the stores of the District, MINIMUM WAGES it likewise ordered the payment of this IN minimum to minors. The only difference between the ruling for an adult DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA woman (18 years or over) and boys and girls under 18 was in the length of the apprenticeship period, which for women was seven months, and for minors one year, the latter including a "pre-apprenticeship" period of five months at a minimum of \$10, then the regular adult minimum of \$12.50 for three months and \$14.50 for four months, at which time the \$16.50 rate comes into force.

Under the Minimum Wage Law the wage for women is fixed by the Board following recommendations of a wage conference composed of representatives of workers, employers and the public. The conference had recommended the \$16.50 rate for women. The wage for minors, under the law, is fixed by the Board without any conference. The ruling of the Board in this instance was made after consultation with experts in child welfare and in accordance



with the recommendations of the International Child Welfare Conference. It rested even more directly, however, upon the necessity for protecting the women whose wages were raised by the \$16.50 order, experience in the states having indicated that minors were to considerable extent substituted for the women if the minors' rates were lower.

The merchants of the District, however, through the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, protested the ruling of the Board on the subject of minors, and asked that the minimum for minors be reduced to \$10, \$11 and \$13 per week. They asked for a hearing, which was held September 29th. At this hearing trade unions, civic societies, educators, and social workers all urged the Board to stand by its order. The merchants alone objected.

The members of the Minimum Wage Board discussed at length the statements made, at the hearing, and finally the employer member, and the representative of the public voted to modify the order affecting the minors. The women workers' representative on the Board voted to stand by the original order, but as the majority was on the other side, the order was changed. As it now stands, minors begin work at a minimum of \$10 per week, and advance at intervals of four months to \$11.50, \$13, \$14.50, then after an interval of six months to \$16.00, the last figure to obtain as their minimum until they are 18, when the minimum of \$16.50 for women becomes effective.

"Social Reconstruction" is the title of a pamphlet recently issued by the Administration Committee of the National Catholic War Council. The "Foreword" reads as follows: "The ending of the Great War has brought peace. But the only safeguard of peace is social justice and a contented people. The deep unrest so emphatically and so widely voiced throughout the world is the most serious menace to the future peace of every nation and of the entire world. Great problems face us. They can not be put aside; they must be met and solved with justice to all. In the hope of stating the lines that will best guide us in their right solution the following pronouncement is issued by the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council. Its practical applications are of course subject to

CATHOLICS  
ON SOCIAL  
RECONSTRUCTION

discussion, but all its essential declarations are based upon the principles of charity and justice that have always been held and taught by the Catholic Church, while its practical proposals are merely an adaptation of those principles and that traditional teaching to the social and industrial conditions and needs of our own time."

The pamphlet deals with a variety of subjects. We quote the pronouncement on "Vocational Training": "The need of industrial, or as it has come to be more generally called, vocational training, is now universally acknowledged. In the interest of the nation as well as in that of the workers themselves, this training should be made substantially universal. While we can not now discuss the subject in any detail, we do wish to set down two general observations. First, the vocational training should be offered in such forms and conditions as not to deprive the children of the working classes of at least the elements of a cultural education. A healthy democracy can not tolerate a purely industrial or trade education for any class of its citizens. We do not want to have the children of the wage-earners put into a special class in which they are marked as outside the sphere of opportunities for culture. The second observation is that the system of vocational training should not operate so as to weaken in any degree our parochial schools or any other class of private schools. Indeed, the opportunities of the system should be extended to all qualified private schools on exactly the same basis as to public schools. We want neither class divisions in education nor a State monopoly of education."

Concerning "Child Labor":—"The question of education naturally suggests the subject of child labor. Public opinion in the majority of the States of our country has set its face inflexibly against the continuous employment of children in industry before the age of sixteen years. Within a reasonably short time all of our States, except some stagnant ones, will have laws providing for this reasonable standard. The education of public opinion must continue, but inasmuch as the process is slow, the abolition of child labor in certain sections seems unlikely to be brought about by the legislatures of these States, and since the Keating-Owen Act has been declared unconstitutional, there seems to be no device by which this reproach to our country can be removed except that

of taxing child labor out of existence. This method is embodied in an amendment to the Federal Revenue Bill which would impose a tax of ten per cent on all goods made by children."

The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee conducts an educational campaign in the right direction when, in a new fifteen-page pamphlet entitled "When You Go To Work,"

"WHEN YOU GO TO WORK" it addresses directly to the boys and girls of Massachusetts a message concerning the child labor and school attendance laws of the state.

The pamphlet is designed primarily to reach those children who are about to leave school and enter employment. To enlist the co-operation of the children themselves in the observance of the state's child labor and school attendance provisions, it seeks, first, to acquaint the children with the aim and purpose of the laws regulating their employment; and over and above the state's insistent "don'ts" it presses the vital "do:"—the stay-in-school message. "The law requires a boy or girl to go to school until fourteen years old," it says, "Go as much longer as you can. It pays." And again:

"School is so important that the law fines any one who employs boys or girls under fourteen in school hours."

"Sleep and rest are so important for school boys and girls that the law fines any one who employs children under fourteen after six o'clock at night or before half past six in the morning."

"Play is so important for school boys and girls that the law leaves very few trades open for children under fourteen to work at when they are not at school."

The pamphlet summarizes the age and hour limitations for employment of minors, occupations prohibited under specified ages, and requirements for securing employment certificates. It warns against "blind alley" jobs, and urges children to avail themselves of continuation school opportunities and public recreation facilities in order that they may be better equipped mentally and physically for adult life. In thus interpreting directly to the children the laws of the state which most nearly concern their own well-being, the Massachusetts Committee performs a real service. If children



everywhere could understand that child labor laws are *for* them—not *against* them—the task of enforcing these laws would be greatly simplified. The message of “When You Go To Work” should reach every boy and girl in the schools of Massachusetts. A similar message might well be addressed to the school children of every state.

In accordance with the custom of the past 13 years, Child Labor Day will be observed in 1920. Three days, indeed, will be observed under this name:—Saturday, January 24th, CHILD LABOR in synagogues; January 25th, in churches and DAY, 1920 Sunday Schools; and Monday, January 26th, in schools and clubs. The child and problems concerning its well-being have occupied an important place in national thought and discussion in the months that have elapsed since the signing of the armistice. Besides a manifestation of new interest there has been achievement. Child Labor Day will be an occasion for review of progress and accomplishment in child welfare work as well as for formulation of a program looking toward the new standards which have been proposed as minimum essentials for the protection and education of children. It will be a day for stock-taking and for constructive thinking and planning. The National Child Labor Committee is asking churches, schools and clubs to co-operate in securing a nation-wide observance of the day and invites correspondence.

## BREVITIES

The Texas Child Welfare Commission will appoint a Children's Code Commission to make a study of all state, county and municipal laws relating to children and to general conditions surrounding childhood in the state, and based upon this study it will recommend to the next session of the legislature needed changes in child welfare laws of the state.

To care for workers' children, it is reported that New South Wales has passed a bill providing that a fixed amount covering the cost of living for a man and his wife and the maintenance of his

children shall form the basis from which wage rates will be calculated. The maintenance of children of workers will be met, according to the report, by payments from a fund administered by the government.

A shortage of 38,000 teachers was reported in 3,465 school districts at the opening of this school year. To meet this shortage, it is estimated that approximately 65,000 of the teachers now employed in the schools are below the standard requirements existing in these school districts. These estimates are based upon replies to questionnaires sent by the National Education Association to district and county school superintendents in all states.

"The main trouble with education in the public schools was that it was all right except that the schools were not educating nine-tenths of the children whom they were supposed to serve. In the fall of 1916 only 280 were enrolled in the second year class in the two high schools. Thus, just about one-fifth of the pupils who had entered nine years before had survived to complete the work of the ninth grade, and of these another 50 per cent were doomed to drop out before obtaining their diplomas. Again the figures in Evansville are typical of the average city of its size throughout the United States. Practically four-fifths of the children in the city were dropping out of school with just enough education to enable them to avoid being classed as illiterates. For, in the present day and age, graduation from the eighth grade represents just a little more more than no education at all." This paragraph from the report of the Superintendent of Schools of Evansville, Indiana, might easily have a more general application.

Publication of a new magazine, *Journal of Educational Research*, is announced by the Public School Publishing Company of Bloomington, Ill. This new journal is published for the University of Illinois, and is edited by the director of the Bureau of Educational Research of the University.

The first of a series of membership campaigns in Minnesota was held in St. Paul, the week of October 22d, by the National Child Labor Committee. Nearly 2,500 names were added to the

membership roll during a drive in which churches, schools, women's clubs and other organizations gave hearty support. The Committee's exhibit was shown, and the Pageant of the Children of Sunshine and Shadow was presented by the Junior League. A child labor day was proclaimed by the Mayor and a feature of the day was the dropping of membership blanks from an airplane flying over the city. A campaign is being conducted in Duluth. Minneapolis is to have a membership campaign in January.



# The American Child

A Journal of Constructive Democracy

Published Quarterly

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## Contributors to this Issue

John Collier, President, National Community Center Association, and a lecturer at the University of California on Immigration and Race Assimilation; formerly director of School for Community Workers.

Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, who contributes the article on "Latin-American Social Views," is Secretary of the United States Committee on Co-operation with the Second Pan-American Child Welfare Congress.

Theresa Wolfson, Executive Secretary of the New York State Consumers' League, was formerly special agent of the National Child Labor Committee.

Gertrude Folks, the National Child Labor Committee's specialist on schools, has returned from France where for two years she was engaged in reconstruction work for the American Committee for the Devastated Regions.

Jessie Payne is on the staff of the National Physical Education Service of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. The Service has its office at Washington, D. C.

Miss A. K. Marshall is on the staff of the Junior American Red Cross.

Ethel M. Smith, Vice-Chairman, Washington Committee, National Women's Trade Union League of America.

**FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT**  
**of the**  
**NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE**  
**For the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1919**

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OWEN R. LOVEJOY, *General Secretary*

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**Legislation**

The year 1919 is the legislative "on" year. Of the 48 states, 43 had legislative sessions, and as a large part of our work is legislative, 16 states were aided either directly or indirectly in securing the passage of child welfare bills.

The present policy of concentrated effort in a few states has brought many satisfactory results. Our plan as outlined last year is to make a detailed study of conditions in a state, compile such studies in a printed report, send the report with conclusions to social workers, state, city and rural officers and members of legislatures, crystallize public opinion to back a legislative program based on this knowledge of conditions, and then when the legislature convenes to send a representative to co-operate with local groups for the passage of proposed legislation.

The following are among the more significant results.

**Oklahoma**

In the spring of 1917 we were invited by the University of Oklahoma to study child labor and all conditions of childhood affected by industrial conditions in that state. The survey covered: child labor, public health, recreation, juvenile courts, poor relief, public institutions, agricultural problems in their relation to the absence of children from rural schools and their employment, and existing state laws and their administration affecting the general protection of children.

Recommendations for improvement of conditions were made. Based on these recommendations a program of twelve bills was drafted:

1. Providing for the creation of a children's code commission to study, co-ordinate and harmonize existing laws and recommend new laws to future legislatures.
2. Raising the minimum age for child labor from 14 to 16 years and in dangerous occupations to 18.
3. Providing for the appointment of county truant officers.
4. Prohibiting the sale of narcotics and opiates.
5. Creating county boards of public welfare.
6. Defining vagrancy.
7. Five bills relating to parentage, pre-natal care and provisions for protecting the health and morals of children.

### *What Was Accomplished*

Five of these bills were enacted into law in 1919.

1. Creation of a children's code commission.
2. Appointment of county truant officers to enforce compulsory education law.
3. Defining vagrancy.
4. Providing for the licensing and supervision of maternity hospitals.
5. Prohibiting the sale of narcotics and opiates.

A child labor law is not included among these results. It is significant, however, that the chief defect in Oklahoma's protection of children in industry has been the utter lack of any administrative machinery to protect children in agriculture. The appointment of county truant officers to enforce the compulsory education law will go farther than any specific child labor law to secure this protection.

The field investigation and preparation of the report were in charge of Mr. Clopper, and our agent attending the legislative session was Miss Theresa Wolfson.



## North Carolina

At the invitation of the North Carolina Conference of Social Service a similar survey was made in that state in the spring of 1918. As a result the following recommendations were made:

1. A child labor law prohibiting employment under 14.
2. Compulsory education law to be enforced during entire school term.
3. Creation of county boards of public welfare with a county superintendent in each county appointed by these boards.
4. Mother's pension law.
5. Adequate juvenile court law.
6. Appointment of full-time county health officers.
7. Regular monthly examinations of the physical condition of children in school *and at work* and three bills relating to hospitals, rescue homes, schools for feeble-minded, etc.

### *What Was Accomplished*

In the spring of 1919 the legislature acted favorably upon five of these recommendations:

1. A child labor law forbidding employment of children under 14—under 16 in mines and quarries.
2. Juvenile court law following almost literally the recommendations of our agent.
3. Extension of compulsory school attendance to six months instead of four, and removal of the poverty exemption from school attendance.
4. Provision for county boards of public welfare and a county superintendent of welfare in every county.
5. Substantial increases in appropriations for the State Training School for boys, and the school for feeble-minded.

The investigation was conducted by Mr. Swift who also prepared the report and represented us at the legislature.

## Alabama

The study of child welfare conditions in Alabama was undertaken in response to an invitation from the Alabama Child Labor

Committee and the University of Alabama, and was made possible by the generous contribution of \$6,325 from one of the Committee's contributors. As a majority of the regular staff were engaged upon the North Carolina report at the time, specialists at the State University acquainted with local problems of health, education, juvenile courts and child-caring institutions co-operated in this study. Four of our own staff however, were in the field for the whole or part of this time, and Mrs. Bush who was Deputy State Factory Inspector joined our staff at the close of the study.

A report was prepared embodying recommendations to fit local conditions including:

1. Amendment of child labor law to conform with compulsory education law.
2. Creation of State Board of Social Welfare with a child labor division.
3. Creation of children's code commission.
4. Increase in scope of State Board of Health.
5. Compulsory school medical inspection of both teachers and pupils.
6. State institutions for feeble-minded children.

### *What Was Accomplished*

The quadrennial legislative session has just adjourned. Four laws were passed:

1. A child labor law with a 14 year minimum; 8-hour work day for children under 16 and other features to conform to modern standards.
2. Creation of a State Department of Child Welfare with a child labor division.
3. Extensive amendments in the state-wide compulsory education law.
4. Reorganization of the local health administration providing for full-time health officers throughout the state.

Mrs. Loraine B. Bush, formerly Deputy Factory Inspector of Alabama was our representative in securing this legislation.

## Other States

In addition to the work detailed above legislatures were visited in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, West Virginia, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska. The most gratifying of the results in these states were in West Virginia where after being defeated for many years in our efforts to secure model standards of protection, Mrs. Bush succeeded in mobilizing the forces of the state which put through an up-to-date child labor law including a 14-year age limit, an 8-hour day, prohibition of night work and of all work in mines under 16, and other substantial features; and in Missouri where the Children's Code Commission introduced a group of fifty bills, 39 of which passed the lower house, and 25 of which were finally enacted into law. The results in Missouri probably place that state now ahead of all others in respect to a co-ordinated system of laws protecting children.

Among other advances in the field of our work to be summarized in detail in forthcoming publications the following are perhaps the most important:

### California

Raises the general age limit for employment from 15 to 16, forbids girls under 18 and boys under 16 in messenger, telephone or telegraph service, raises compulsory attendance age to correspond with child labor law, and requires continuation school for those between 14 and 18.

### Delaware

Requires school attendance for all between 7 and 17 years unless children above 14 have completed 8th grade, are legally employed and attend continuation school.

### Florida

Extends compulsory attendance law to children between 7 and 16 for the entire school term, and makes the law state-wide in application. Children under 16, however, who have completed the 8th grade are exempt if regularly employed.

### Georgia

Establishes a definite 10-hour day limitation for work, requires six months compulsory school attendance until the seventh grade is passed, and does not exempt on account of poverty.



Illinois

Extends compulsory school term from 6 to 7 months and together with a number of other states establishes continuation schools.

Iowa

Definitely fixes 40-hour week for children under 16 in districts where part-time schools are established, and all children between 14 and 16 who have not completed 8th grade must attend continuation schools.

Kansas

Extends the compulsory attendance period to the 16th year instead of the 15th.

Maine

Forbids any employment during school hours under 15 years; forbids night work under 16 in bowling alleys or poolrooms; and requires that employment certificates must show that the child has completed the 6th grade in school.

Massachusetts

Simplifies the former confused statutes regarding hours by making a 9-hour day and 48-hour week apply to all minors under 18 and all females, except that in seasonal occupations the week may extend to 52 hours, provided that the yearly average shall not exceed 48 hours a week.

Montana

Requires school superintendent to issue age and schooling certificates to which no child under 16 is entitled unless he has completed the 8th grade. On termination of employment the certificate must be returned to the school superintendent. Continuation school attendance applies to all under 18 unless the child is legally employed or has completed the high-school course.

New Jersey

Requires attendance at continuation school between 14 and 16 years. Provides that where continuation schools are established the hours of work shall not exceed 42 per week.

New Mexico

Makes school attendance compulsory to 16 years except that children between 14 and 16 gainfully employed must attend continuation school for at least 150 hours a year.

Oregon

Requires continuation school attendance between 16 and 18 years, unless the 8th grade has been completed.

South Carolina

Provides that the employer must secure a certificate of school attendance before engaging a child, and that children must attend school for the entire term. The law contains the unfortunate provision, however, that children over 12 with widowed mothers or crippled fathers are exempt.

Tennessee

The principal improvement was in the compulsory school attendance law which formerly applied to children between 8 and 14 and now applies to all children between 7 and 16 for the entire school year.

Utah

Extends the 8-hour day and 48-hour week to all women; extends compulsory school attendance period to 18 years, thirty weeks each year, except for children legally employed who must attend continuation school 144 hours per year unless they have completed the high-school course.

Porto Rico

Fixes a 14-year minimum during school hours, requires work permit up to 16 years and wipes out the general exemption for children under 16, employed in agriculture.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

A majority of these states also enacted or improved continuation school laws and provisions for mothers' pensions.

### Federal Legislation

Title XII of the Revenue Act of 1918, approved February 24, 1919, provides an excise tax on the employment of child labor. This act went into effect on April 25, 1919 and it was announced by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue that he would develop the service of the Government to administer the provisions of the act. An injunction case to restrain the Atherton Cotton Mills from discharging John W. Johnston or curtailing his employment to 8 hours a day was brought before Judge Boyd of the Western District of North Carolina and on May 2, 1919, he declared this law unconstitutional. The Department of Justice is preparing the case for the U. S. Supreme Court and the Court has set December 8 for hearing the case. An early decision is anticipated.

### **Investigation**

The principal field activities of our Committee have been in the states above referred to with a view to immediate legislative results. In addition, however, studies have been made in Michigan, Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin.

### **Fourteenth Annual Conference**

The Fourteenth Annual Conference met in New York City, December 7, 1918. The general topic was "A National Program for Child Protection." Three sessions were held to discuss "Federal Aid to Elementary Education," "Health" and "A Federal Child Labor Law."

The Proceedings of the Conference were published in the quarterly Child Labor Bulletin for February, 1919, Volume VII, No. 4.

### **Official Meetings**

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Corporation was held at the office of the Committee, 105 East 22d Street, New York City at four o'clock, Wednesday, November 6, 1918.

The following Trustees were elected for a term of five years to succeed themselves: Edward T. Devine, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Adolph Lewisohn, Stephen S. Wise; and Paul M. Warburg was re-elected as Trustee for a term of five years after an absence of four years in Washington.

Three meetings of the Board have been held during the year; November 6, 1918, December 17, 1918 and March 5, 1919.

### **The Child Health Organization**

The Child Health Organization has followed up the successful work of Children's Year in its nation-wide campaign to raise the health standard of the American school child. Through its health messages to parents and teachers, as well as to children themselves, conveyed in pamphlets and in health letters syndicated to newspapers, it has continued the work of teaching health truths and health habits to school children. The United States Bureau of Education has given hearty co-operation in spreading its health work in the schools.



### Publicity

The publicity department has sent out 133 news stories and editorial articles. One or more of the statements from this department has appeared in the newspapers of every state in the Union.

The publications for the year included four issues of the quarterly magazine (with the May, 1919, number the name of the magazine was changed from "The Child Labor Bulletin" to *The American Child*, eleven pamphlets including revised editions and reprints of Bulletin articles, and six leaflets. In addition the Committee published the report of "Child Welfare in North Carolina" (314 pp), the result of a survey made at the request of the North Carolina State Conference for Social Service, and "Child Welfare in Alabama" (249 pp), the report of an inquiry made in co-operation with the University of Alabama. The total number of pages in all publications of the Committee during the year was 5,310,260.

Libraries throughout the United States received complimentary copies of the May issue of *The American Child* and as a result a number of libraries have been added to our subscription list. We have also arranged to exchange *The American Child* with many leading magazines.

The publicity department has done considerable revisory work in connection with Committee publications, and has enlarged the reference library with books, pamphlets, clippings on child labor and related subjects.

The observance of Child Labor Day (the last Sunday in January) was less vigorously pushed than in former years on account of the necessity of economy in printing and stationery. Many evidences reached the office, however, that the day was observed throughout the country especially by educational institutions.

The material distributed during the year shows 40,457 separate publications in response to 2,103 requests, including thirty-five requests from foreign countries and territories.

### Membership

The increase in membership during the Fifteenth Fiscal Year has been very encouraging. The net increase in the number of members over the Fourteenth Year is 1,280 giving a total on Sep-

tember 30, 1919, of 12,780 members. Of this number 8,475 were renewals of former memberships being 73.6 percent of last year's enrollment.

In addition 4,305 new members and contributors enrolled during the year contributing \$19,532.21.

Following is the comparison of memberships with the report for the Fourteenth Year:

	Fifteenth Year		Fourteenth Year	
Renewing Donors.....	71	\$14,237.21	84	\$15,689.05
New Donors.....	24	2,855.00	17	2,175.00
	95	\$17,092.21	101	\$17,864.05
Renewing Sustaining Members.....	521	\$14,474.90	510	\$14,786.00
New Sustaining Members.....	108	3,344.34	129	1,679.91
	629	\$17,819.24	639	\$16,465.91
Renewing Contributing Members....	3,527	\$23,122.82	3,247	\$19,892.08
New Contributing Members.....	1,158	7,177.57	1,139	2,355.43
	4,685	\$30,300.39	4,386	\$22,247.51
Renewing Associate Members.....	3,978	\$8,438.17	3,928	\$8,353.90
New Associate Members.....	2,731	5,894.55	1,896	3,003.37
	6,709	\$14,332.72	5,824	\$11,357.27
Renewing Contributors.....	378	\$376.15	373	\$414.35
New Contributors.....	284	260.75	177	759.01
	662	\$636.90	550	\$1,173.36
Grand Total.....	12,780	\$80,181.46	11,500	\$69,108.10

The membership department has continued the policy of conducting local membership campaigns in various cities. In this connection our exhibit material has been of especial value, and the

pageant "The Children of Sunshine and Shadow" has been successfully produced. Campaigns were held in: Philadelphia, Scranton, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Indianapolis, Evansville, Indiana. The receipts from these campaigns totalled \$21,456.71. Special meetings were held at Forest Hills, L. I., Newark, N. J., New York City, Woodmere, L. I., Paradox, N. Y., Oxford, Ohio, where our pageant was presented. The total results were: \$2,318.95. College Campaigns were conducted at Vassar College, Teachers' College, Swarthmore, Barnard, Columbia University; and suit-case exhibits shown at Illinois State Normal, University of Illinois, Western College, Randolph-Macon Women's College, with a result of \$1,153.13. A part of the amounts referred to in this paragraph are renewals, which accounts for the figures not corresponding with the tabulated report on new members.

## TREASURER'S REPORT

For the Year Ended September 30, 1919

Certified by Haskins & Sells, Certified Public Accountants

### Debits

CASH ON DEPOSIT, OCTOBER 1, 1918..... \$8,309.89

#### RECEIPTS:

Subscriptions.....	\$82,045.56	
Less Refunds—Division of Local Camp		
Funds.....	582.49	
	\$81,463.07	
Sales of Publications.....	376.84	
Sales of Photographs and Slides.....	12.20	
Rental of Slides and Exhibits.....	112.58	
Interest on Bank Balances.....	85.37	
Pageant.....	2,564.35	
Legacy, Mrs. Margaret E. Zimmerman (part of \$10,000.00).....	5,000.00	
Donation on Account of Alabama Welfare Work (expenditures in preceding year).....	5,325.00	
	94,939.41	
Total Debits.....		\$103,249.30



Total Debits..... \$103,249.30

### Credits

#### EXPENSES:

Administrative Salaries.....	\$9,570.00
Clerical Salaries.....	13,939.39
Investigations.....	\$26,289.75
Less Collections from Local State Organizations.....	3,511.58
	<hr/> 22,778.17
Drafting and Supporting Legislation. . .	3,007.06
Publicity.....	8,648.74
Exhibits.....	\$3,319.18
Less Collections from Local State Organizations.....	469.20
	<hr/> 2,849.98
Printing.....	9,282.97
Postage.....	4,074.42
Traveling.....	3,060.77
Stationery and Office Supplies.....	1,062.66
Telephone and Telegraph.....	739.13
Purchase of Literature Relating to Child Labor.....	392.52
Rent.....	2,145.00
Expenses Incurred in Purchasing United States Victory Loan Notes.....	34.45
Miscellaneous.....	772.13
	<hr/> \$82,357.39

INVESTMENT—\$5,000.00 UNITED STATES VICTORY LOAN NOTES.....	5,000.00
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES.....	667.44
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AT BEGINNING OF THE YEAR.....	2,012.26

Total Credits..... 90,037.09

CASH ON DEPOSIT, SEPTEMBER 30, 1919..... \$13,212.21

**STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES**

For the Year Ended September 30, 1919

**INCOME:**

## Subscriptions:

Collected During the Year..... \$81,463.07

Collected but Unearned at Beginning  
of the Year..... 5,420.25

Total..... \$86,883.32

Less Collected but Unearned at End  
of the Year..... 6,351.50

Earned During the Year..... \$80,531.82

Sales of Publications..... 376.84

Sales of Photographs and Slides..... 12.20

Rental of Slides and Exhibits..... 112.58

Pageant..... 2,564.35

Donation on Account of Alabama Welfare Work  
(expenditures in preceding year)..... 5,325.00Legacy, Mrs. Margaret E. Zimmerman (part of  
\$10,000.00)..... 5,000.00

Interest on Bank Balances..... 85.37

Total..... \$94,008.16

**EXPENSES:**

Administrative Salaries..... \$9,570.00

Clerical Salaries..... 14,052.51

Investigations..... 22,790.23

Drafting and Supporting Legislation..... 3,007.06

Publicity..... 8,648.74

Exhibits..... 2,862.98

Printing..... 9,372.97

Postage..... 4,074.42

Rent..... 2,145.00

Traveling..... 3,092.27

Stationery and Office Supplies..... 1,155.81

Telephone and Telegraph..... 756.92

Purchase of Literature Relating to Child Labor.... 398.33

Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures..... 165.44

Miscellaneous..... 811.22

Total..... 82,903.90

NET INCOME FOR THE YEAR..... \$ 11,104.26

SURPLUS, OCTOBER 1, 1918..... 1,878.33

SURPLUS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1919..... \$12,982.59

## GENERAL BALANCE SHEET

September 30, 1919

### Assets

CASH ON DEPOSIT, PER EXHIBIT "C".....	\$13,212.21
UNITED STATES VICTORY LOAN NOTES, PAR VALUE.....	5,000.00
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES.....	\$1,654.49
LESS RESERVE FOR DEPRECIATION.....	301.54
	<hr/> 1,352.95
EXHIBIT PARAPHERNALIA.....	150.00
	<hr/>
Total.....	<u><u>\$19,715.16</u></u>

### Liabilities

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE.....	\$381.07
UNEARNED PORTION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS, COLLECTED.....	6,351.50
SURPLUS, PER EXHIBIT "B".....	12,982.59
	<hr/>
Total.....	<u><u>\$19,715.16</u></u>



## Addresses

State	Mr. Lovejoy	Dr. Clopper	Mr. Swift	Miss Eschen- brenner	Others	Total
Alabama.....	..	..	..	..	1	1
California.....	..	2	..	..	..	2
Connecticut.....	1	..	..	..	..	1
Dist. of Columbia.	1	..	..	15	..	16
Florida.....	2	..	..	..	..	2
Georgia.....	1	..	..	..	..	1
Illinois.....	7	..	..	..	..	7
Indiana.....	4	..	..	65	..	69
Iowa.....	1	..	..	..	..	1
Kentucky.....	1	2	1	..	..	4
Maryland.....	2	..	..	..	..	2
Massachusetts...	2	1	..	..	..	3
Michigan.....	1	..	..	..	3	4
Minnesota.....	1	..	..	..	..	1
Missouri.....	3	1	1	..	..	5
Nebraska.....	..	..	2	..	..	2
New Jersey.....	3	2	..	..	3	8
New York.....	17	3	1	18	7	46
North Carolina...	1	..	1	..	..	2
Ohio.....	..	1	1	..	..	2
Oklahoma.....	..	..	..	..	6	6
Pennsylvania....	19	..	..	32	2	53
Rhode Island...	1	..	..	..	..	1
South Carolina...	3	..	..	..	..	3
Texas.....	..	1	..	..	..	1
Virginia.....	2	..	..	..	1	3
West Virginia....	..	..	..	..	6	6
	73	13	7	122	29	244

## Conferences Attended

California.....	1
District of Columbia.....	1
Florida.....	2
Illinois.....	2
Indiana.....	1
Iowa.....	1

Massachusetts.....	2
Michigan.....	1
Missouri.....	3
New Jersey.....	2
New York.....	13
North Carolina.....	1
Ohio.....	2
Pennsylvania.....	2
Texas.....	1
Virginia.....	1
Total.....	<hr/> 36

### Travel

	Miles
Owen R. Lovejoy.....	32,187
Edward N. Clopper.....	18,149
Wiley H. Swift.....	12,808
Josephine J. Eschenbrenner.....	4,720
Mabel Brown Ellis.....	10,292
C. E. Gibbons.....	9,781
Raymond G. Fuller.....	5,672
Mrs. L. B. Bush.....	5,270
Theresa Wolfson.....	1,597
Josette Frank.....	985

The record of the National Child Labor Committee in the year just ended is gratifying beyond our expectations both in the growth of the Committee and in definite results achieved. This we believe is due not only to the wise leadership of the Board of Trustees and the enthusiastic loyalty and energy of the members of our staff, but also to the awakening conviction in the public mind that if America is to take and hold her rightful place in the great fraternity of nations, every child must be secured in the right to health, mental training and efficient citizenship.

Respectfully submitted,

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,  
General Secretary.

## INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

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The first meeting of the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations was held at Washington, D. C., October 29th to November 29th, inclusive. In previous issues of *The American Child*, some of the principles and problems of international labor legislation and of labor regulation by international action have been discussed. In the next issue will appear a more extensive report of the Washington meeting than is possible in the present number.

The Peace Conference adopted on April 11th the draft convention submitted by the Commission on International Labor Legislation. This convention provided for the institution of an International Organization to which all the Members of the League of Nations would belong, and which would consist of an International Labor Conference and an International Labor Office, as part of the machinery of the League of Nations. It further provided that the first meeting of the International Labor Conference should take place at Washington in October, and that an International Organizing Committee should be appointed to assist the government of the United States in making the necessary arrangements.

In May, the Organizing Committee addressed a letter and questionnaire to the governments of the various countries, as the first step in gathering world-wide information as to the present status of the protective labor legislation to be considered at the Conference in Washington. When this vast amount of material had been received the Committee examined, summarized and analyzed it, and arrived at certain conclusions and recommendations, all of which were then printed as comprehensive documents to be placed in the hands of delegates to the Conference. These served as a basis for the discussion. Report I covers "The Eight-hours Day or Forty-eight Hours Week"; Report II, "Unemployment"; Report III, "The Employment of Women and Children and the Berne Conventions of 1906."

The items of the Agenda follow:



- (1) Application of principle of the 8-hours day or of the 48-hours week.
- (2) Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.
- (3) Women's employment:
  - (a) Before and after child-birth, including the question of maternity benefit.
  - (b) During the night.
  - (c) In unhealthy processes.
- (4) Employment of children:
  - (a) Minimum age of employment.
  - (b) During the night.
  - (c) In unhealthy processes.
- (5) Extension and application of the International Conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

While the meetings of the Conference were in progress William L. Chenery wrote in the *Survey*: "Serious work is being done at Washington on all of the various questions brought before the conference. Earnestly the problems set before the conference are being attacked. The long corridors of a section of the mammoth new Navy building open into endless offices occupied by those performing the arduous routine of the first attempt at international legislation. An expert organization has been created. The labor ministries of most of the world are ably represented. In fact, the conspicuousness of trained experts is one of the outstanding features of the conference. Acknowledging the industrial character of this generation, capital and labor have been clearly called into this first world congress, but the governments have chosen to remain dominant. Half of the delegates are government officials. They constitute a bloc which will decide finally the character of the conference. The conflicting interests of employers and employes rise to the surface, but on any issue the governmental spokesmen still remain a solid body, strong enough to assure the action they desire. That fact is of great importance. It is, with the forceful and fair leadership which the secretary of labor, William B. Wilson, has as presiding officer brought to the conference, a guaranty that sober commonsense, avoiding wreck, will drive onward to genuine achievements in the establishment of law in industry throughout the world."

We cannot in this issue discuss the accomplishment of the Conference. We present, however, the official text of the "Draft

Convention Fixing the Age for Admission of Children to Industrial Employment":—

The General Conference of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, having been convened by the Government of the United States of America at Washington, on the 29th day of October, 1919, and having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the "employment of children: minimum age of employment," which is part of the fourth item in the agenda for the Washington meeting of the Conference, and having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a draft international convention, adopts the following Draft Convention for ratification by the Members of the International Labor Organization, in accordance with the Labor Part of the Treaty of Versailles of 28th June, 1919, and of the Treaty of St. Germain of 10th September, 1919:

#### ARTICLE 1

For the purpose of this Convention, the term "industrial undertaking" includes particularly:

(a) Mines, quarries and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth.

(b) Industries in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed; including shipbuilding, and the generation, transformation, and transmission of electricity and motive power of all kinds.

(c) Construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration, or demolition of any building, railway, tramway, harbor, dock, pier, canal, inland waterway, road, tunnel, bridge, viaduct, sewer, drain, well, telegraphic or telephonic installation, electrical undertaking, gas work, water work, or other work of construction, as well as the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure.

(d) Transport of passengers or goods by road or rail or waterway, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves, and warehouses, but excluding transport by hand.

The competent authority in each country shall define the line of division which separates industry from commerce and agriculture.

#### ARTICLE 2

Children under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed or work in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.

ARTICLE 3

The provisions of Article 2 shall not apply to work done by children in technical schools, provided that such work is approved and supervised by public authority.

ARTICLE 4

In order to facilitate the enforcement of the provisions of this Convention, every employer in an industrial undertaking shall be required to keep a register of all persons under the age of sixteen years employed by him, and of the dates of their births.

ARTICLE 5

In connection with the application of this Convention to Japan, the following modifications of Article 2 may be made:

(a) Children over twelve years of age may be admitted into employment if they have finished the course in the elementary school;

(b) As regards children between the ages of twelve and fourteen already employed, transitional regulations may be made.

The provision in the present Japanese law admitting children under the age of twelve years to certain light and easy employments shall be repealed.

ARTICLE 6

The provisions of Article 2 shall not apply to India, but in India children under twelve years of age shall not be employed:

(a) In manufactories working with power and employing more than ten persons;

(b) In mines, quarries, and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth;

(c) In the transport of passengers or goods, or mails, by rail, or in handling of goods at docks, quays, and wharves, but excluding transport by hand.

ARTICLE 7

The formal ratifications of this Convention, under the conditions set forth in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles of 28 June, 1919, and of the Treaty of St. Germain of 10 September, 1919, shall be communicated to the Secretary General of the League of Nations for registration.



## ARTICLE 8

Each Member which ratifies this Convention engages to apply it to its colonies, protectorates, and possessions which are not fully self-governing:

(a) Except where owing to the local conditions its provisions are inapplicable; or

(b) Subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt its provisions to local conditions.

Each Member shall notify to the International Labor Office the action taken in respect to each of its colonies, protectorates, and possessions which are not fully self-governing.

## ARTICLE 9

As soon as the ratifications of two Members of the International Labor Organization have been registered with the Secretariat, the Secretary General of the League of Nations shall so notify all the Members of the International Labor Organization.

## ARTICLE 10

This Convention shall come into force at the date on which such notification is issued by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, but it shall then be binding only upon these Members which have registered their ratification with the Secretariat. Thereafter this Convention will come into force for any other Member at the date on which its ratification is registered with the Secretariat.

## ARTICLE 11

Each Member which ratifies this Convention agrees to bring its provisions into operation not later than 1 July, 1922, and to take such action as may be necessary to make these provisions effective.

## ARTICLE 12

A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Secretary General of the League of Nations for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered with the Secretariat.

## ARTICLE 13

At least once in ten years, the Governing Body of the International Labor Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention, and shall consider the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of its revision or modification.

Votes were taken at the Washington meeting with the understanding that they would not really be effective until ratification of the peace treaty. The Governing Body of the International Labor Office was accordingly authorized to take such steps as may be necessary to render the resolutions of the Conference effective. The following resolution was adopted Saturday, November 29th:

“Seeing that the treaty of peace has not yet been ratified, the conference gives authority to the governing body to take such measures as may be necessary to render the resolutions of the conference effective. Therefore, when this conference adjourns today, it adjourns leaving it at the discretion of the governing body to reconvene the present meeting or to declare it closed, as may be deemed advisable.”

“The Draft Convention Concerning the Night Work of Young Persons Employed in Industry” provides as follows:

## ARTICLE 2

Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed, except as hereinafter provided for.

Young persons over the age of sixteen may be employed during the night in the following industrial undertakings on work which by reason of the nature of the process, is required to be carried on continuously day and night:

(a) Manufacture of iron and steel; processes in which reverberatory or regenerative furnaces are used, and galvanizing of sheet metal or wire (except the pickling process).

(b) Glass works.

(c) Manufacture of paper.

(d) Manufacture of raw sugar.

(e) Gold mining reduction work.

## ARTICLE 3

For the purpose of this Convention, the term "night" signifies a period of at least eleven consecutive hours, including the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning.

In coal and lignite mines work may be carried on in the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning, if an interval of ordinarily fifteen hours, and in no case of less than thirteen hours, separates two periods of work.

Where night work in the baking industry is prohibited for all workers, the interval between nine o'clock in the evening and four o'clock in the morning may be substituted in the baking industry or the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning.

In those tropical countries in which work is suspended during the middle of the day, the night period may be shorter than eleven hours if compensatory rest is accorded during the day.

## ARTICLE 4

The provisions of Article 2 and 3 shall not apply to the night work of young persons between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years in cases of emergencies which could not have been controlled or foreseen, which are not of a periodical character, and which interfere with the normal working of the industrial undertaking.

## ARTICLE 5

In the application of this Convention to Japan, until 1 July, 1925, Article 2 shall apply only to young persons under fifteen years of age and thereafter it shall apply only to young persons under sixteen years of age.

## ARTICLE 6

In the application of this Convention to India, the term "industrial undertakings" shall include only "factories" as defined in the Indian Factory Act, and Article 2 shall not apply to male persons over fourteen years of age.

## ARTICLE 7

The prohibition of night work may be suspended by the Government, for young persons between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years, when in case of serious emergency the public interest demands it.



# INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WORKING WOMEN

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ETHEL M. SMITH

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The International Congress of Working Women, which convened in Washington, October 28 to November 6, upon invitation of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, made a unanimous, unequivocal demand that no children under 16 years of age be employed in gainful occupations unless they have completed the elementary school and have been found by a school physician or other medical officer especially appointed for that purpose to be of normal development for a child of that age and physically fit for the work at which they are to be employed.

The Congress demanded also that no young person under 18 years of age shall be employed in or about a mine or quarry; that the legal work day for young persons between 16 and 18 years of age shall be shorter than the legal work day for adults; that no minor shall be employed between the hours of 6 P.M. and 7 A.M.; that minors shall not be employed in dangerous or hazardous occupations or at any work which will retard their proper physical development.

The women of the twelve nations represented in the International Congress of Working Women, namely Great Britain, France, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Argentine, India, Canada and the United States, were unanimous on practically every feature of this resolution. And it was notable that the new republics of Poland and Czechoslovakia were eager to put their countries on record in the front rank of progressive thinking on this as on all other issues.

The resolution on child labor, like all others adopted by the Women's Congress, was transmitted to the first International Labor Conference of the League of Nations, which was meeting at the other end of the Mall, in the Pan-American Building, but which was composed entirely of men. In the official conference also were

represented three distinct groups, namely, employers, the governments of the different nations and the workers.

It is not surprising, perhaps, though nevertheless notable that in the official conference only the workers' delegates stood for the 16-year minimum age for child labor and they were defeated in committee. The report as adopted by the official conference of the League of Nations calls for an international standard of 14 years in industrial occupations, with no action for oriental countries (except Japan) until the next conference.

The outstanding purpose of the International Congress of Working Women was to register with the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations, in which women had no direct voice, the views of the working women of the world whose interests were so vitally at stake in every question considered by the Conference.

Almost equally important was the benefit of association and exchange of views which was to be achieved by the meeting of the representative women of different countries. It was not to be expected that the women's Congress would be as large as the men's. The call was cabled to the same countries, but in many of those countries working women are so little organized that they could not send representatives. Poland, however, sent four delegates; Czechoslovakia sent two; Italy, one; France, two; Belgium, two; Great Britain, two; India, one; Argentine, one; Norway, one; Sweden, one; Canada, one; and the United States had ten, which was the maximum permitted under the rules. Each country had ten votes whether represented by one or ten delegates.

The names of the delegates and the countries they represented are as follows: Alicia Moreau of Argentina; Berthe Delalieux and Victorie Cappe of Belgium; Margaret Bondfield and Mary Macarthur of British Empire; Kathleen Derry of Canada; Marie Majerova and Louisa Landova-Stychova of Czechoslovakia; Gergette Bouillot and Jeanne Bouvier of France; Ptarvalikia Athavale of India; Laura Casartelli Cabrini of Italy; Betzy Kjelsberg of Norway; Sophie Dobranske, Felix Konopska, Jadwiga Lukasiuk and Constancia Olschewska of Poland; Alma Sundquist of Sweden; Mary Anderson, Fannia Cohn, Elizabeth Christman, Agnes Nestor, Julia O'Connor, Leonora O'Reilly, Lois B. Rantoul, Margaret Dreier Robins (Mrs. Raymond Robins), Rose Schneiderman, Maud Swartz, of the United States.

Meeting with the delegates and having all but voting privileges in the Congress were several of the women technical advisers to the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations who were not accredited as delegates to the Women's Congress—notably, Miss Kerstin Hesselgren, a factory inspector of Sweden; Mrs. Taka Takanashi Tanaka, adviser to the government delegate from Japan; Mme. Letellier, adviser to the French delegation; Mme. de Zayas Bazan, from Cuba.

The discussions of the Congress dwelt upon all of the subjects on the agenda of the official conference and produced resolutions which, besides that dealing with child labor, called for the 8-hour day and 44-hour week; maternity care and monetary allowance covering a period of four weeks before and after childbirth; prohibition of night work for women and also for men except for the latter in continuous industries and public utilities; health and safety provisions in dangerous trades, with prohibition of the employment of women only where the hazard affects women as potential mothers; unemployment insurance, national and international employment bureaus, regulation of immigration and emigration by treaty and regulation of control of raw materials; lifting of the blockade from Russia; and the equal representation of women in all future international conferences of the League of Nations.

The International Congress of Working Women voted to become a permanent institution with headquarters in Washington. The officers are: President, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Chicago; 1st Vice-President, Miss Mary Macarthur, England; 2nd Vice-President, Mme. Louisa Landova-Stychova, Czechoslovakia; 3d Vice-President, Mme. Jeanne Bouvier, France; 4th Vice-President, Mrs. Betzy Kjelsberg, Norway; 5th Vice-President, Left for Central Powers; Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. Maude Swartz, New York.



## NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE ON CHILD WELFARE

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The general trend of the conference on child welfare held in Albany, October 16th to 18th, 1919, under the auspices of the state departments of labor, education and health was forecast in Commissioner Lynch's opening remarks when he suggested that the consideration of the conference was not "The Child in Industry" but "Keeping the Child in School." Through various approaches—a more effective enforcement of the child labor and compulsory attendance laws; raising the minimum age at which children may leave school and enter industry; changes in the school system; the establishment of continuation schools—the same conclusion was again and again reached—that the child should be prevented from prematurely starting down "the road that don't lead nowhere" and should be given every opportunity to secure an education which will develop his physical and mental capacities, enable him to enter industry as a skilled worker, and afford him the means to enjoy his leisure time.

This idea was developed not only by members of the state departments concerned but by representatives of child welfare organizations, trades unions and employers invited to join in the conference. Although the labor representatives laid themselves open to the charge of "radicalism" in their attack on the Rockefeller Foundation and in their claim that industries employing children showed a proportional increase in profits notwithstanding the statement of the employers that "the child under 16 is a liability, not an asset"—and although on the other hand the employers laid themselves open to the charge of "conservatism" in going counter to the minimum standards of child welfare adopted by the National Industrial Conference at Washington, October 16th, and declaring it inadvisable at the present time to raise the age minimum—there was on the whole little class consciousness manifested and there was a large field where all concerned met in perfect agreement.

## ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR AND COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE LAWS

The conference was unanimous in holding that the child labor and compulsory attendance laws were being evaded, that an increase in the staff of enforcing officers should be made and that a closer co-operation among the three departments of labor, education and health, concerned with the enforcement of these laws was essential. New York is peculiar in that the health department issues work permits to children.

## RAISING THE MINIMUM AGE

A change in the attendance and labor laws of the state raising the minimum age at which a child may enter industry to 16 years and requiring full-time attendance at school until that age, was urged by the labor and health representatives and by the child welfare agencies. Practical difficulties in the way of enforcement and of securing at present adequate accommodations in the schools for so many additional children, were suggested by a representative of the education department, and the employers took the stand that, although this change would be desirable eventually, it would be unwise to compel the older children to remain in school until the curriculum had been modified to meet their needs.

## CHANGES IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

A most satisfactory feature of the conference was the very general recognition by the educational as well as by the industrial representatives of the need of certain changes in the present school system and the practicability of many of the suggestions made. The curriculum was discussed and revisions proposed aiming at a general revitalization, greater variety in methods and in subject matter to provide for each child a type of education suited to his ability, and the inclusion of courses adapted to the interest and the needs of older pupils. Emphasis was placed especially by the labor representatives, upon the inadvisability of early specialization. No vocational work before 14 years, and after that training designed to be generally useful and to enable the child to make an

intelligent choice of vocation rather than teaching a specific process in industry, were urged. Smaller classes, permitting the teacher to take into consideration the psychology of the child, special effort to keep in school and provide special training for retarded and defective children, higher professional requirements for teachers, and a general increase in teachers' salaries, were among the suggestions that met with general approval.

### HEALTH

Stricter health requirements for the child desiring to enter industry were favored, as well as regular, frequent and systematic physical examinations of the child during the entire school course and continued during the period in which a work permit is held. It was suggested that studies be made to determine the comparative measurements, strength, prevalence of disease, accident records and fatigue reactions of children in industry and in school. Greater attention to physical education and adequate provision for recreational facilities were unanimously advocated.

### CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

One entire session was devoted to a consideration of continuation schools and the discussion centered on the new New York State law. The general feeling of the conference was that it should be applied at first to the younger children and those of lower grade and gradually extended to all those coming under its provision. Detailed attention was given to the curriculum, and the importance of education of general utility along with technical training was stressed. The difficulty already met in securing competent teachers was emphasized and the consequent necessity of a high salary scale. Joint continuation schools rather than small continuation classes were favored.

A more idealistic note was sounded by The Honorable Sir Alfred T. Davies, K.B.E., Permanent Secretary of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education of England and Wales. Turning aside from the discussion of hand training and technical knowledge he emphasized the part which the public schools should play in determining the use which a man makes of the leisure time which



labor is now endeavoring to secure for him. The materialistic aim of industrial training he claimed was but one end—and a relatively unimportant one—of education, bearing to it the same relation that hours of labor should bear to a man's whole life.

The legislative committee appointed at the opening of the conference made the following recommendations which were unanimously accepted:

1. That a commission be appointed to collate and study all laws relating to child welfare with a view to their possible revision.
2. That the commission be composed of members of the legislature, representatives of the departments affected, and the public.
3. That with the approval of this conference, but to be left to the three departments—Education, Labor, and Health—for approval, the committee recommend to the legislature the enactment of a law creating a commission to which shall be appointed the Commissioner of Education, the Commissioner of Health and a member of the Industrial Commission with an adequate staff.

The duties of this commission shall be to co-ordinate the duties of the three departments in the supervision of the laws relating to children.

4. That this conference shall meet one year from now under the auspices of the following five state departments: The Education Department, the Industrial Commission, the Health Department, the Probation Commission and the Department of Charities. That this committee be continued between conferences for the purpose of considering proposed legislation and other problems dealing with the welfare of the child.

## CHILD WELFARE IN KENTUCKY

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"Child Welfare in Kentucky," which has been published as the November Bulletin of the State Board of Health and as a volume in the Committee's series, "State Child Welfare Studies" contains chapters on Public Health, by H. H. Mitchell, M.D.; the Schools, by Mrs. Elizabeth Bliss Newhall and Miss Alexina Booth; Recreation, by Raymond G. Fuller; Rural Life, by Charles E. Gibbons; Child Labor, by Mrs. Loraine B. Bush; Juvenile Courts, by Miss Mabel Brown Ellis; Law and Administration, by Wiley H. Swift. The study was directed by Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., from whose Introduction to the volume the following excerpts are taken.

"There are in the state about 1,200,000 boys and girls under 20 years of age of whom 20 per cent live in urban homes and 80 per cent in rural districts. The welfare of children, therefore, is chiefly a matter of dealing with rural conditions and yet in spite of this fact the children of cities and their environment have so far had the lion's share of thought and effort; this preferential treatment must give way to a fairer policy by which the needs of all receive proper consideration.

"With a small appropriation for public health work and with very few full-time health officers it is no wonder that epidemics are frequent; that the death rates for such diseases as tuberculosis, typhoid fever, diphtheria, measles and whooping cough although appreciably lowered in the past ten years, are high; that trachoma is common among children in the mountain section and is said to be increasing in spite of efforts to check it; that smallpox is still prevalent in parts of the state; and that pellagra is widespread in the south eastern counties. But it is encouraging that the death rate from malaria is decreasing and that hookworm, of which children especially are the victims, has been largely brought under control. Instruction in hygiene as given in the schools, and especially in the rural schools, is primitive and ineffectual. Medical school inspection and school nursing service are provided for in but few places. Sanitation in many rural homes is rudimentary or wholly absent.

"State and county administration of public schools is subject to the uncertainties of politics. The offices of state superintendent of public instruction and of county superintendent of schools are gained only through political activity and campaigns for support at the polls. The salary of a county superintendent of schools is so limited by law that competent persons ordinarily will not consider the position although cities are not restricted either by a system of political preferment in selecting superintendents or by the fiat of law in fixing their pay.

"Local taxes are too low for the development of good schools, and because state funds alone are sufficient to keep poor schools open for six months, many districts are content to make shift with such provision and lull to sleep all sense of their own responsibility. This indifference to duty and to the rights of children will prevail until the people are obliged to comply with a higher standard of local taxation. Rural elementary schools are held in archaic buildings, poorly equipped, with poorly paid teachers using poor methods. Owing to the lack of good roads there has been but little consolidation. The cities have better schools but because of the low salaries there is difficulty in getting and holding the teachers. Compulsory attendance is spasmodic in the smaller cities, and weak in both law and enforcement in rural districts. Boys and girls are absent from school principally because of work, illness and indifference. Opportunity to attend high school is frequently denied to country children. More than 6,500 children over 10 years of age are illiterate.

"The juvenile court law is generally disregarded in rural districts. In some places police courts sentence children. At times children are kept in jail, some awaiting trial, others serving sentences. Some county judges do not distinguish between children and adults in their methods of trial. Circuit courts have been found trying children whose cases are not of record in any juvenile court. Means of detention suitable for unfortunate boys and girls is a great need nearly everywhere, as is likewise probation service—the backbone of the juvenile court. The manifold duties of county judges interfere with their giving due attention to juvenile court matters.

"Apprenticing and binding out children under obsolete conditions are still practised to some extent and the laws permitting



such procedure should be repealed. The child labor law is one of the best in the country but it is enforced in only a few places because there is no real department of labor and only a half dozen inspectors to cover all the industries and one of these is engaged in private business.

"Girls of 12 years of age and boys 14 years of age are permitted to marry with the consent of their parents; and applicants for marriage licenses are not obliged to appear before the official who issues them. Save for the granting of an appropriation to a private society devoted to their care, the state neglects dependent children; while those whose condition of dependency is aggravated by disease, deformity, or illegitimacy are officially ignored.

"Unregulated amusements largely dominate the great field of recreation; that provided by public authorities and by private civic and philanthropic societies falls far short of meeting the need, while much of that afforded by commercial agencies is inferior in quality and unfortunate in effect.

"This is not a pleasing picture. It would be wholly depressing if there were no spirit of protest alive to encourage the hope for better things. Fortunately there is such a spirit and it is gradually becoming stronger and stronger. Indeed, there are not wanting examples of what can be accomplished through pricking the conscience and stimulating the effort of a community, as in Mason County; the trouble is that the energising spirit of discontent is not yet abroad in the land and the old order still prevails. Attachment to the methods of days gone by and scorn of modern ways, still hold many in thralldom. The state's treatment of children is out of joint with the times.

"This is not a fault finding report in the sense that it is adversely critical of administrative policies, methods or personnel. It is, however, an indictment of the people. They have been too complacent, too much satisfied with things as they are, and too unwilling to give the children of the state the advantage either of their own undertakings or of experience gained elsewhere. Here and there, thoroughly good work is being done but the general attitude is that of indifference. The people have no better provisions for the health, care, protection, schooling and play of their children than they themselves have demanded, and the conditions are no worse than they have been content with. Whatever the short-

comings of the state may be in all these fields, they are chargeable to the people alone. It is this popular inertia that must be overcome before any real advance can be made, and it is cheering to know that it is already by way of being overcome, for manifestations of an awakened spirit are now distinctly perceptible. The authors of this volume, as they went about the state found the people nearly everywhere in a receptive mood and ready to respond to capable leadership.

"Action in so vital a matter should not be precipitate nor ill considered, and it is believed that the wisest course is to devote some time to a study of the situation so as to awaken public interest and insure the use of measures adapted to the conditions peculiar to this state. It is not a good plan to pass laws and make changes simply because other states have passed the same laws and made the same changes; all steps taken must be on sure ground and this can be determined only through careful thought and study. To this end it is suggested that the Governor be authorized to appoint several qualified persons, to serve without pay as a temporary commission charged with submitting to the General Assembly at its next session a report upon the standardising, simplifying and co-ordinating of all the state laws concerning children and upon suitable means for their administration. A small appropriation should be granted to the commission for expenses. Such a report is what is known in this country as a 'Children's Code' but as a matter of fact the laws on child welfare are not codified by such commissions in the sense of being brought together to form one body—they are left in their respective places on the statute books, the health provisions in the general health laws, the labor provisions in the general labor laws, and so with the other provisions—but are so modified and supplemented as to form a well articulated whole, in accord with modern thought and practise when considered as to their standards and their bearing upon one another. Instead of "Children's Code Commission," the purposes of such temporary body would be more clearly indicated if given the name of 'Commission for the Standardising of Child Welfare Laws,' but the former has the advantage of being the shorter term and is, therefore preferred in popular usage. Perhaps in place of a temporary commission it would be well to instruct the Co-operative Council to prepare and submit such a report; this council was



recently organized to act as a clearing house and planning board for all agencies engaged in state-wide social service."

Though of course no adequate description of the suggested legislative program can be given to a few pages, it may be summarized. The study on which the report is based was made at the instance of the State Board of Health, the Kentucky Child Labor Association, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Louisville Welfare League and other agencies, and the recommendations are intended for use by the people of Kentucky in planning and obtaining state legislation in behalf of the children of the state.

As Kentucky has no State Department of Public Welfare or an equivalent, it is recommended that such a department be created. The department, according to the National Committee, should be charged with the duty of looking after the interests of those children who are in need of special care and attention by reason of unusual conditions and the department should be controlled by a board of five or seven members, each appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate for a term of six years. The duties of the board should include the following:

"To elect a Commissioner of Public Welfare as executive officer of the board, and to fix his compensation; to have the supervisory care of all crippled, insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, blind, deaf, dumb, dependent, neglected and delinquent children; to supervise every child-caring and home-finding institution or society, state, county, municipal or private, and to inspect, control and license every such institution or society; to supervise the administration of mothers' aid for the benefit of children, if and when a mothers' aid law is passed.

"There should be in every county a county board of public welfare, composed of three or five members, each serving for a term of four years. A county superintendent of public welfare, appointed by the county board should have the following duties: To supervise the school census; to act as truancy officer for the enforcement of the compulsory education act; to issue all work permits and to follow up all working children to see that they are not being injured by their work and are attending continuation schools where such schools are established; to act as probation officer for the juvenile court. In the larger counties, assistants will have to be provided, but in some of the smaller and less populated counties



the county superintendent of schools might act as the county superintendent of public welfare when approved by the State Board of Public Welfare."

The National Committee, in that section of its report that deals with the schools, recommends the creation of a State Board of Education of seven members, appointed by the Governor, each for a term of six years, two members retiring every year, the personnel to be as follows: The president of the State University; three members recommended by the Kentucky Educational Association, one of them as city superintendent and one a county superintendent; two members appointed by the Governor; and one of the principals of the two state normal schools, the two principals alternating annually. "The board," says the Committee's report, "should direct the educational policies of the school system of the state and assume the duties now assigned to the State Text Book Commission and the State Board of Examiners.

"The superintendent of public instruction should be appointed by the State Board of Education to serve for a period of four years and should be eligible for reappointment. There should be no political or territorial limits in choosing a man for this office. The salary should be not less than \$5,000 a year. The state superintendent should be provided with a sufficient number of assistants to make possible adequate supervision of all the schools of the state.

"The county superintendent should be appointed by the county board of education to serve for a period of four years and should be eligible for reappointment. His powers should be increased so as to include the recommendation for appointment of all teachers in the county schools." The Committee comments on the fact that the present law makes it impossible to select a man for county superintendent who resides in a city of the first or second class or outside the county in which he is a candidate for election at the polls.

Discussing the problem of school finance the Committee says: "The state constitution should be amended so as to provide for the distribution of state school funds upon the basis of local effort and need instead of upon a per capita basis as at present. What is needed more than anything else in Kentucky's school system is a stimulus to local effort, and the method of apportioning the state funds can best be made to serve as this stimulus. It would be far better, for example, to grant the aid according to the aggregate

daily attendance and number of teachers employed than according to the mere number of children in a district regardless of whether or not these children even enroll, much less attend. The state school funds should always be held sacred to educational purposes."

"The greatest need of public health work in Kentucky," says the Committee in its report, "is the development of modern local health departments, particularly county departments, with trained all-time staffs. No state department of health can fully accomplish the purpose for which it exists without the active and constant help of efficient local departments." In the Committee's report, emphasis is placed on the desirability of county and district health departments all through Kentucky. Under existing law, it is pointed out, several counties can unite to form a district.

The Committee declares that public health is a purchasable commodity, comments on the inadequacy of the funds hitherto available to the State Board of Health, recommends special appropriations for certain branches of health work, and urges state aid to counties forming county or district health departments. It is estimated that an appropriation of \$200,000 would compensate the executive officers of 45 county health departments and 30 district health departments. These officers should be agents of the State Board of Health and should be paid out of state funds. Other expense should be borne by the counties, on the principle that the Lord helps those who help themselves.

"A special section of the State Child Hygiene Bureau," says the Committee, "Should be devoted to school hygiene, as it relates to physical examination and correction of physical defects, control of communicable diseases, and sanitation of school buildings, and to advising and assisting the State Department of Education in developing a state program for playground, recreation, physical training, and the instruction of the school child in health essentials. Physical education and health protection of children should be further developed through a Bureau of Physical Education in the State Department of Education. As soon as trained all-time health officers are provided, the Director of Physical Education should direct school medical work through the county and district health departments and standardize physical training and the teaching of hygiene and health habits through school superintendents and physical training directors.

“Every child applying for work permits should be required to show a certificate of a health department physician or a school physician indicating that he has good health, is normally developed, and is physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed. While at work under a permit, each child should receive the medical examination and supervision of the school health service.”



## DISCRETIONARY POWER

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EDWARD N. CLOPPER, PH.D.

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It is often urged that protective laws in the field of child welfare should confer upon their administrators a large measure of discretionary power so that each child affected may be dealt with according to its special needs. Children are individuals and should be treated as such, insist many able persons charged with the enforcement of mandatory and prohibitive laws, and others who revolt against the uniform application of a rigid standard to all children alike, regardless of their peculiar circumstances, characters, dispositions, talents and tastes. The feeling is natural and is intensified by seeing here and there conspicuous examples of fine social service of an independent character in behalf of boys and girls, the observers at once jumping to the conclusion that like service can be rendered everywhere under any conditions. Even the signally successful workers declare that "anybody can do the same." But we all know the part played by the personal equation in these matters and learn from experience that such striking success is the portion of only a few.

The theory these able administrators and their supporters set forth is sound but under our present limitations as to personnel it breaks down in practice, and so several states that formerly granted such discretionary power, have found it necessary to revoke it and require all to conform to a fixed standard. The reason is obvious. The exercise of such power can be safely entrusted only to administrators of strong moral courage, abundant common sense, sound judgment, and thorough understanding of children, their nature and their needs. If we had such administrators everywhere, in cities, towns, villages, hamlets, and the countryside, devoting all their time to such work and amply paid for their services, we should feel that the interests of our boys and girls were secure in their keeping and we should not hesitate to allow them considerable latitude in the adjustment of standards to special conditions. But unfortunately we are not blessed with such wealth of able administrative

personnel—indeed, most of our area is as yet untouched by administrative effort for child welfare, able or otherwise. The officers who meet the requirements for such work are few and far between. Many whose duty it is to enforce the law are not endowed with enough moral courage to withstand the guile, the importuning and the pressure of local politicians—and those who are courageous are frequently removed from office or find their powers curtailed. Usually an officer has a variety of laws to administer and gives but perfunctory attention to those he deems less urgent or which interest him least. And a great number of our child welfare officers of one kind or another are working on a part-time basis. As to judgment, common sense and understanding of children—the combination is so seldom found that its possessor stands out in any surroundings as a bright and shining light.

So our compulsory school attendance laws, our child labor laws, our delinquency laws, our dependency laws, our health laws and all our other laws that seek to train, protect and nurture children are, generally speaking, inadequately administered by truancy, labor, probation, parole and health officers. Sometimes important administrative duties are turned over to clerks, stenographers and typists. The significance of such work is not yet known. To grant discretionary power on a wholesale plan to administrators, many of whom are incompetent, overburdened with duties, or incapable of covering the area assigned to them, would be the height of folly and unfair both to the officers and to the children—unfair to the officers because they would steadily be pushed into following the line of least resistance and their treatment of the exceptional case would come to be the rule, and unfair to the children because under our lamentable conditions in the matter of personnel the very intent of the law would be nullified and its aid and comfort denied.

As one step toward improvement of administrative personnel, methods and policies in one field, it is suggested that public school authorities bring together in one department and under one head with sufficient assistants, the related activities of school census taking, census record keeping, compulsory attendance enforcement, issuance of work permits, enforcement of street trading restrictions, and the finding of suitable jobs for boys and girls who can no longer attend school full time. Let the school census include all children and let the handicapped and afflicted be separately reported, so that

we shall know not only how many normal children from 6 to 20 years of age are living in the community, but also who are blind, deaf and dumb, feeble-minded, seriously crippled, illiterate or otherwise disadvantaged, and let us hold our officers responsible for seeing that all these receive such care and training as they need. Let the work a child does be looked upon as an important part of his education, and let permits be issued carefully and intelligently with a view to conserving health, promoting education and safeguarding from abuse.



## DO SCHOOL STATISTICS SPEAK?

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GERTRUDE FOLKS

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One step in the educational program for which the National Child Labor Committee is working has been completed—the establishment of some form of compulsory education law in every state of the Union. The next step is to secure effective enforcement of these laws. To accomplish this, a revision of the material contained in the school census and of the statistical analysis presented in the state educational reports is essential. “Statistics mean nothing” is a common phrase—but facts *do* have a meaning and school statistics, if properly gathered and analyzed, reveal facts which indicate the lines along which educational effort should be directed.

New York State has recognized this and in 1917 passed a law establishing permanent census bureaus in cities of the second and third classes. These had been in existence in cities of the first class since 1908 and were found to be “invaluable aids in a proper administration of child labor and compulsory education laws, as well as in child welfare work. It was not unusual to find, even in cities of the third class, that the compulsory education and child labor laws were seriously failing adequately to accomplish the purposes for which the laws were enacted, solely for the want of up-to-date, reliable census information, while in a city of the first class, having from 250,000 to 5,000,000 population, the results attained in the administration of these laws were vastly in excess of the results attained in the smaller municipalities. The reason for this was ever and always in evidence, namely, that the up-to-date, reliable census information obtainable in the city of the first class enabled school authorities to administer attendance laws with a degree of steadiness and success not possibly attainable even in a small city, where such up-to-date information was lacking.”\*

The last report of the Vermont State Board of Education calls to mind the fact that in 1910, there were 10,906 illiterates 10 years of age and over in the state, and suggests that it would be both more effective and more economical to compel children to attend

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\**University of the State of New York Bulletin*, No. 672.

school than to educate adult illiterates. But, it concludes, the "enforcement of the compulsory attendance and child labor laws, as well as the proper safeguarding of children's education, demands an accurate school census."

In spite of this obvious depending of the efficacy of child labor and attendance laws upon accurate statistical information, in most states the school census is still taken on the basis of scholastic age, (the period during which the child is entitled to a free education, which varies in the different states from 4 to 21 to 8 to 18, covering in some cases 17 years of the child's life, in other cases only 10 years), and little attempt is made to interpret the returns. A study of the last reports issued by state departments of education, including the District of Columbia, reveals a striking failure to grasp either the relative importance of specific items, or their bearing on the educational situation.

The last report issued by the State Board of Education of Idaho (for the year ending June 30, 1918) is typical. It reports the enumeration of children of "scholastic age" but nowhere indicates that this age period is 8 to 18 years. It reports only the enrollment and average daily attendance of all children in the public schools, irrespective of age, thus rendering impossible any accurate percentage of the number of children of school age actually enrolled in and attending school, for there must be many children under 8 in the elementary grades and over 18 in the high schools. Education in Idaho is compulsory between the ages of 8 and 16. Children of 15, however, may be excused in cases of poverty, or if they have completed the eighth grade. Nowhere, however, is any report given of the number of children of this age period enumerated, enrolled in or attending the schools. No estimate is made of the number of children attending private or parochial schools; no record is given of the number 15 years of age excused for the above reasons. With such inadequate statistics an effective enforcement of the compulsory attendance law is out of the question. Idaho does, however, include in its report one item found in very few state reports—the number of feeble-minded and physically defective children.

California, in spite of much progressive educational legislation, has an equally unsatisfactory report. There is no index to the report, but a careful study of all tables failed to reveal figures regarding the enumeration of children of any age period. The enroll-

ment and attendance figures are the totals for children of all ages. There is no estimate made of the number of children in private and parochial schools, of the number excused for employment and other reasons, or of the number of physical and mental defectives—not an item in the report that would aid in enforcing the child labor and compulsory attendance laws.

This situation unfortunately is not the exception but the rule. The results of the analysis of statistics presented in state reports is given below:

### *Enumeration and School Enrollment*

Only 7 states report both the enumeration of children of compulsory school age and the number of this age enrolled.

16 states report the enumeration of children of scholastic age and the total enrollment in the public schools, irrespective of age, working out the percentage of enrollment to population on this basis.

7 states report the total enrollment and also the enrollment of children of scholastic age.

4 states, although reporting the enrollment of children of compulsory attendance age, report the enumeration of scholastic age only.

4 other states reverse this, and while reporting the enumeration of children of compulsory attendance age, report only the total enrollment or enrollment of children of scholastic age.

4 other states, while not reporting the number enrolled or attending, estimate the number of children of compulsory attendance age *not* attending the public schools.

4 states make classifications, but useless ones, of their figures. Example: Virginia divides the enrollment into age periods of 7 to 9, 10 to 14, etc., although the compulsory school period is 8 to 12. Nevada gives the enrollment of children of compulsory school age, but divides the enumeration into age periods of 4 to 6, 6 to 18, etc., although compulsory attendance begins at 8 years.

2 states give no enumeration figures.

For one state we secured no report.



Only 8 states make any attempt to estimate the number of children in private and parochial schools.

Only 7 states make any estimate of the number of children employed or holding work permits.

Only 3 states make any estimate of the number excused from attending school for other reasons, such as mental or physical incapacity, distance, etc.

### *Average Daily Attendance*

Only 2 states report the average daily attendance of children of compulsory school age.

32 states report the average daily attendance of children of all ages together.

7 states report the average daily attendance of children of scholastic age.

7 states make no estimate of average daily attendance.

For one state we had no report.

Total 49

In 21 states compulsory continuation schools for employed children have recently been established, yet only three of these states have been recording the number of children employed. Several cities have such records but the figures are not compiled for the state as a whole.

Statistics intelligently compiled are needed not only to aid in the enforcement of the child labor and compulsory attendance laws, but as a guide to further legislation. North Dakota's report, that 7,541 children are excused from attending school because they live more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the school house, points to the need for immediate provision for their transportation. The reporting of the number of crippled, deaf, blind, deformed and mentally defective children not only should lead to a general consideration of the state's responsibility toward these unfortunates, but should be used as the source for a constant checking up of the number of these groups in the state and of the adequacy of the care received by each such individual whether in his home or in an institution. The experience of New York is again significant. The first school census taken under the new law revealed that in five cities of the second

class, 888 persons between the ages of 8 and 18 were unable to read or write English, while 126 persons between 10 and 18 were unable to read or write any language, and the report already quoted points out that, in view of the fact that there has been practically no immigration to this country since 1914, these figures are a severe criticism of the enforcement of the educational laws of New York, or a reflection upon the methods of education employed.

To compile a useful report is not a task beyond the power of any state, no matter how hard pressed for funds. It does not necessitate the establishment of permanent census bureaus like those of New York, although this is desirable. In most cases, it does not even necessitate an actual increase in the labor required in taking the census, but depends rather upon analysis of the material gathered. A very simple record could be used requiring only the following items:

Name.....Sex.....Color.....  
 Address.....Date of Birth.....Nativity.....  
 Names of parents.....Address.....Nativity.....  
 School attended.....If none, why?.....Grade completed.....  
 Physical condition, if defective.....  
 Mental condition: Normal.....Feeble-minded.....  
 Can child read English?.....Any other language?.....  
 Can child write English?.....Any other language?.....  
 If employed, state kind of occupation.....  
 If employed, is child attending continuation school?.....

This information, together with a record from local school officers as to enrollment and attendance in their districts, would be ample to furnish the basis for a simple, yet significant state report, containing the following items:

School census—number of scholastic age and of compulsory school age.  
 Enrollment—total, and number of compulsory school age; percentage of school census.  
 Average daily attendance—of all pupils enrolled and of those of compulsory school age; percentage in each case based on census and on enrollment.  
 Number in private and parochial schools.  
 Number excused with work permit.  
 Number in continuation schools.  
 Number excused for other reasons, classified.  
 Number physically and mentally defective, classified.  
 Number unable to read and write English.  
 Number unable to read and write any language.

To determine the educational situation in the country as a whole a comparable basis for the statistics reported by the states to the Federal Government is necessary. The United States Bureau of Education is now developing a plan to secure such reports from the states; its success will be determined by the co-operation accorded by state educational officials. Until that plan is generally adopted, however, and until we have a uniform compulsory attendance law throughout the country, each state should at least compile statistics regarding the number of children of a specified age group, enumerated, enrolled and in average daily attendance in the schools of the state.

Not until this revision is accomplished can we be certain that children of compulsory attendance age are actually at school, that children below the prescribed age are not working, that mental and physical defectives are being cared for, that illiteracy is being reduced; in short that the measures which we have enacted are verily laws.



## PEOPLE WHO GO TO BEETS

—  
THERESA WOLFSON  
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The child is considered the *raison d'être* of the family, our social unit brought into existence and maintained chiefly for its protection and rearing. In order to insure for it the best of care and an opportunity for normal development, the family must have the element of stability and a certain amount of geographic fixity. We have been accustomed to think of the term "migratory labor" as applying only to the individual who, free from family ties and responsibilities, travels about from job to job as necessity or will prescribes. For it stands to reason that the family man, realizing that the welfare of his children demands a more or less



fixed habitation is less apt to try his luck and stake the family bread and butter on a chance employment. Yet each year, the early spring season witnesses an exodus of families from the foreign quarters of industrial centers to rural districts, their destinations being the cranberry bogs, onion fields, sugar-beet fields and other sections where seasonal agricultural work is carried on. Here they remain working during the summer, sometimes returning to the cities in the winter. More frequently, however, they are lost to their original communities, and their children mysteriously drop out of the schools.

This study of migratory labor in the Michigan sugar-beet fields was made with the aim of learning something of the conditions under which the families live and of the work they do, and primarily of determining the effect of their migration upon the school attendance and education of the children.

The sugar-beet belt of Michigan runs through the central and northeastern section of the state, including what is known as the "thumb." Five representative beet counties were visited: Saginaw, Bay, Tuscola, Huron and Shiawassee. The industry in these counties is controlled largely by three companies: the Owosso, the Michigan and the Columbia Sugar Companies. One hundred and thirty-three beet workers' families were interviewed and the information obtained revealed the existence of extensive child labor, lack of educational provision, a shocking degree of insanitation in living quarters, and an exploitation of adult, and for the most part foreign, labor.

### THE SPRING SEASON

In order to understand how such conditions can prevail it is necessary to understand the peculiarities of the beet industry. There are two distinct phases—the growing of sugar beets with which the farmer and the "beet-family" are solely concerned—and the "beet campaign" which is the conversion of beets into sugar in the fall and winter months. It is the first process, the growing of beets, which necessitates the use of outside help. The sugar company through their "field bosses" secures contracts for beet acreages from the farmers, the company furnishing the seed at a minimum cost and promising labor to work the beets. The farmer in return promises to cultivate the land, to provide living quarters for the help, to furnish water and to haul fuel for them.

It is the company, therefore, that is responsible for the labor supply. Every winter the labor agents or "agriculturists" as they are sometimes called, visit the large industrial cities. By means of newspaper advertisements, posters and public meetings held often in vacant stores in the foreign sections of the city, the agent reaches the prospective help. Much is promised—easy work, good pay, free transportation to Michigan, fine houses, clear running water, free rent, free fuel, a large garden, and above all an opportunity for every child to work and help the family save money. These promises are frequently exaggerated to a preposterous degree.

The people whom the agent addresses are foreigners, usually peasants from the old country, who have come to America to better their fortunes. They have large families, live in congested quarters

of the city, work hard and often are anxious to get back to the soil which they understand so much better than they do the foundries, shops and mines. What they hear sounds good, so they throw up their jobs, pack their belongings, take the children out of school and migrate to Michigan. Families have thus been imported from



"BEETS IS HARD WORK."

Buffalo, New York City, Philadelphia, Erie, Akron, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee, Toledo and cities in Iowa and Minnesota; for the past two or three years a large number of Mexicans from San Antonio, Texas, have also come.

#### CONTRACT OF LABOR

The companies issue contracts for use between the grower and the hand laborer. The terms of the contract include the following items:

1. Beets are to be bunched and thinned by beet-help, leaving only one beet in a place; when hoeing is completed, beets must not be further apart than eight to ten inches.

2. Weeds must be hoed out, and beets kept clean in the row; four inches must be kept on each side of the row; hoeing shall be done at such times as is deemed best by the grower and the laborer.

3. The grower (farmer) agrees to keep the beets cultivated clean between rows; to give them one cultivation before they are blocked and thinned, and to do so at the time designated by the beet help.



4. When beets are ready for harvesting they shall be lifted by the farmer, and the beet help agrees to pull and top them, removing all dirt possible from the beets by striking them together before removing the tops.

5. The laborer agrees to place beets, when topped, in piles containing beets from 16 rows if planted twenty inches apart, or from 12 rows if planted 24 or 28 inches apart, these piles to be at least two rods apart, and to cover them each night with leaves.

In return for this the beet laborer is promised \$24 an acre for beets planted in rows 18 to 22 inches apart, and \$22 an acre for beets planted in rows 28 inches apart; these prices cover the entire hand-work to be done by the laborer.

In addition, the farmer agrees to furnish free, a suitable dwelling place, water, fuel, transportation from the railway station and also to and from the place of work. It is further agreed that in case the farmer fails to secure a satisfactory stand of beets, the contract shall be considered void; in case of a dispute as to the advisability of continuing the work on the crop or as to the measurement of the field, the dispute shall be decided by the sugar company or its representative.

Field bosses complain that a contract proves to be only a "piece of paper." "You can't make the hunkies stay, if they take a notion to up and leave." This, of course, means that the company loses the money it invested in transporting the family. On the other hand, beet-workers say that the labor agents promise them "heaven" in order to get them to "come to beets," but once there, they are quickly disillusioned. The beet-worker is under the impression that he is employed by the sugar company, and therefore takes orders only from the field boss. It is he who shifts the families as the demand varies. This year the acreage promised the beet-workers was larger than the amount actually given them to work; consequently, their potential earnings are decreased, and they have another cause for complaint.

#### NATIONALITY OF HELP

The general term applied to the beet-worker is "Hunkie" or "Bohunk," probably derived from Hungarian and Bohemian. Of the 133 families interviewed 41 were Hungarians, 22 were Slavic (of

the small principalities, Croatia, Moravia, Czecho-Slovakia and Bohemia), 22 were Polish, 16 were Russ-German or Germans coming from the Baltic provinces, 13 were German, 2 were Russian and 6 were Mexican. The number of Mexicans "in beets" was large, but as the majority were single adults they were not interviewed. Five families were of mixed nationality. One English, one French and three American families were also in the group. Field bosses repeatedly declared that American labor was of no use, for "a Yankee can't stand the hard work." One boss in Shiawasse county said, "I read that the 'Hunkies' have saved up money and are going



10 AND 12 YEARS OLD.

back to the old country—that's bad for our business. These families are desirables for beets and we gotta keep 'em here!"

It will be difficult for them to "keep 'em here" unless some measures are taken to improve their living and working conditions.

#### THE JOBS THEY LEFT BEHIND

Coming to the cities from sections of Europe largely agricultural, and being unable to understand the language of this country, most of the men interviewed had been compelled to engage in unskilled labor. Forty-five, or one-third of the total number had

worked during the previous winter in shops or factories manufacturing everything from sugar to ammunition and wires. Only ten were skilled artisans; four were furnace workers; 12 were railroad workers; eight were coal miners; five worked in the ship yards; 14 were day laborers picking up odd jobs as they went along; and 13 were foundry workers—all occupations of the heavy manual labor type. There were also workers whose winter occupations had been those of barber, plumber, farmer, carpenter, shipyard worker, mason and butcher. One had even been a music teacher in Chicago for some 28 years. At the end of that time he found himself and his family broken in health and spirit and decided to try the beet fields.

#### REASONS FOR GOING TO BEETS

Why did they come to the beet fields? Most frequently families with large numbers of children said that they felt the city was no place to raise children—things were too expensive and children ran wild—in the country all the children could work. Next in frequency came the statement that “we worked on a farm in the old country, no like city, we try to save money and by and by have own farm.” Often the reply was, “We’re buying our own home in the city, we want to save money this summer to help pay the mortgage.” Incidentally, not a few of the German and Polish families had “beet-homes,” that is, homes which they were enabled to buy from beet savings. Several families came in the hope of making money to pay debts incurred by the winter’s siege of “flu”; and a colony of Polish miners’ families from the vicinity of Bay City, migrated because there had been a strike for two months in the mines which had not yet been settled.

#### LIVING CONDITIONS

These are very bad. The average farmer looks upon his help with contempt probably because they are foreigners, but partly because of the work they do. “Anything is good enough for the Hunkie,” and consequently, living quarters, the only thing the farmers supplies, are for the most part unspeakably wretched. An old woodshed, a long-abandoned barn, a cleaned-out chicken-house, and occasionally a tottering ramshackle farmer’s house are



the common types. Fourteen families of four and five persons, and four families with from six to nine persons were found living in one-room shanties. One family of 11, the youngest child 2 years, the oldest 16 years, lived in an old country store which had but one window; the wind and rain came through the holes in the walls, the ceiling was very low and the smoke from the store filled the room. Here the family ate, slept, cooked and washed.

In Tuscola county a family of six was found living in a one room shack with no windows. Light and ventilation were secured through the open door. Little Charles, 8 years of age, was left at



A "HUNKIE'S" HOME IN THE BEETS.

home to take care of Dan, Annie and Pete, whose ages were 5 years, 4 years, and 3 months respectively. In addition he cooked the noon-day meal and brought it to his parents in the field. The filth and choking odors of the shack made it almost unbearable, yet the baby was sleeping on a heap of rags piled up in a corner.

A Polish woman who had been brought from Buffalo, was housed in a barn partitioned in such manner that the live stock was kept on one side of the stall and the family on the other. She had two little children and a sick husband. Because of the conditions in which she was compelled to live she threatened to go to court claiming that she had been tricked. Whereupon the farmer

terrorized her and declared he'd send her to jail because she refused to work. Two weeks later the field boss of the section moved the family to a more human habitation.

The accumulation of filth, the stench, and the lack of room has made the "Hunkie's" house in the country an eyesore. There are usually no provisions for sanitation. Toilets were found built directly against the sides of the house; doors were unhinged and more frequently there were no doors at all. Two shacks had no toilets—they used "the woods." The open privy was common; there were a great number of open wells and in several instances the water of these wells had become so polluted that it could not be used. Most of the shacks had water pumps in the yards, but of the 133 families interviewed, 28 had no water supply on the premises and were compelled to carry water for distances varying from "just across the road" to a half mile. In several instances water from a nearby creek was used for washing purposes and drinking water was carried from a neighbor's pump.

Because the beet-weeder's family starts for the field at day-break and does not come back until sundown, when it is too dark to work, there is little cooking done. The writer was often invited to share a noon-day lunch consisting of a loaf of bread, sausage, chunks of which are broken off for the children, and a large can of black coffee. The food is bought at the country store on "tick," as they say. The amount which they owe is deducted from the final income by the field boss. There is considerable complaint about over-charging by country-store keepers. In several instances, inquiries indicated that the beet-workers were being "fleeced."

A notable exception to these conditions was found in the Owosso Prairie Farm. The Owosso Sugar Company owns a farm of 980 acres where it carries on experimental work in sugar beets in addition to raising a large acreage of beets. It has built a number of uniform four-room cottages and some double cottages for the beet families, who number between 70 and 100 a season. The cottages have running water in the kitchen, and electric light connections for the use of which the laborer pays 20 cents a bulb a month. In addition each family is entitled to a garden. The toilets are built quite a distance from the houses and are kept in good condition. The Farm runs a two-room school, paying the salaries of the teachers who are under the supervision of the county superintendent

of education. Families coming out early in April are expected to send their children to the farm school. There is also a club house where moving pictures are shown at a nominal charge. The farm is really a village in itself.

### WORKING CONDITIONS

The contract of employment promises house, water and fuel—and these promises are much embellished by the descriptions of the labor agent. In return the family is given a certain beet acreage



TYPICAL BEET-WORKERS "MANSION."

to work. Usually there is a long period of idleness before the actual work begins. A family of five in which the children are of working age, usually over seven, can work about twenty-five acres a season. The more children in the family the larger the acreage given; a family of nine or ten for example, can cover from fifty to sixty acres. In some sections of Huron and Tuscola counties, principally around Caro and Sebawing, the beet territory is fairly compact and smaller families are used.

Where the territory is compact the problem of getting to the outfields is not important. Though transportation to the fields is promised if the distance be great, few cases were found in which



this promise was being fulfilled. Father, mother and children are frequently compelled to trudge several miles in order to get to their place of work. If their own field of beets is not ready for thinning, the field boss sends them to help out beet-workers on other farms.

Working beets in the intense noon heat is unbearable, even for "Hunkies," and it is no uncommon thing to see the family resting underneath an old tent. An eight-weeks old baby was found sleeping in an improvised hammock in the fields. The hot sun baked the ground and the child's face was blistered by the heat. What to do with the babies is indeed a problem to the beeter's family—all too frequently they are left to themselves in a corner of the fields for hours at a time.

### INDUSTRIAL UNREST

The feeling of unrest passing over the entire industrial world is evident in the beet industry. Field bosses in talking of the situation say "The Germans, the Hungarians and Slavs know how to work beets from the old country—we can't teach them anything—but they are always wanting more money. The Mexicans are not so fresh but they don't know beets as well."

On the Doyle Farm, a large experimental station owned by one of the sugar companies, beet help were given day work on the farm until the time for thinning beets should arrive. They originally received 35 cents an hour but wages were later reduced to 30 cents. The workers, led by a young Slovak, went on strike. They were not successful, several men were discharged, and five of a group of nineteen men who had been brought from Milwaukee, ran away.

A similar occurrence took place on the Owosso Prairie Farm. Last year the company paid 30 cents an hour to beet-workers doing farm labor before the beet season. This year, in order to keep the labor until the end of the season, it pays 25 cents an hour and promises the remaining 5 cents an hour as a bonus at the end of the beet season. This action caused much discontent and rumors of a strike in the midst of the beet season were frequently heard.

Discontent with the conditions in which the beet-workers are compelled to live—the constant complaints with regard to housing, overcharges for food at country stores, and unfulfilled promises, produce a fertile field for agitation. Agitators have been trying to organize the beet-workers to strike for higher pay. In several com-

munities strikes were successful because called at a time when the beets had to be taken care of. An increase of four dollars per acre was secured in these cases.

In many instances, especially where Mexicans are employed, the land is so rocky that in addition to beet-weeding the laborers have to clear the fields. This serves as no mean cause for increased discontent. Single workers known as "stag-labor" are constantly running away to nearby towns to get easier work. On several occasions the writer saw Mexican families camping in railroad stations, waiting for trains to take them to some larger town. The number



6 YEARS OLD.

of families breaking their contracts, and leaving the country either to return to the city or to seek work in some other community, is large.

In 1918, two hundred Mexicans were imported for beet work. The season was poor and in the fall they migrated to Saginaw in search of work. A strike was taking place in one of the construction companies and these men were hired as strike-breakers. Trouble ensued—parades and meetings of protest were held. The company was compelled to discharge the Mexicans, the unions would not receive them into their organization, and they were finally compelled to leave the city. Another interesting industrial situation was

caused by the employment of striking coal miners in the beet fields. These men were enabled to hold out on the strike by working with their families in "beets."

### CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION

To promote the physical and mental development of the child, we forbid his employment in factories, shops and stores. On the other hand, we are prone to believe that the right kind of farm work is healthful and the best thing for children. But for a child to crawl along the ground, weeding beets in the hot sun for 14 hours a day—the average work-day—is far from being the best thing. The law of compensation is bound to work in some way and the immediate result of this agricultural work is interference with school attendance.

In the 133 families visited there were about 600 children. A conversation held with a "Rooshian-German" woman is indicative of the size of most of the families:

"How many children have you?" inquired the investigator.

"Eight—Julius, und Rose, und Martha, dey is mine; Gottlieb und Philip, und Frieda, dey is my husband's—und Otto und Charlie, dey are ours."

Families with ten and twelve children are frequently found while those with six and eight children are the general rule. Of course, it's the large beet family that does the most work.

It has been stated that illiteracy in the country is nearly twice as extensive as in the cities, and that the great areas of adult illiteracy are incidentally the great areas of rural child labor. The sugar-beet industry requires labor for but five or six months in the year; families therefore, begin moving from the city in April, and stay in the country until after the harvest in October or November. The children lose approximately four months of schooling. As one weeder put it: "Poor man no make money, make plenty chlidren—plenty children good for sugar-beet business."

In the 133 families interviewed there were 186 children under 6 years of age, their ages ranging from eight weeks up; 36 children from 6 to 8 years old, of whom approximately two-thirds had never attended school; and eleven over 16 years of age who had never been to school in America. These beet children belong almost



entirely to foreign families who came to America to earn money. There is no way of proving their age other than the statement of the parents, and consequently they have been able to elude the compulsory education laws of the states in which they live. Altogether about 15 per cent of the children of the "beet families" interviewed, had never attended school. Many of the children of the 6 to 8-year group did not attend school because they had to take care of their younger brothers and sisters. One 10-year-old lad had never attended school because he was a mental defective, and a Mexican child of 9 was practically blinded by cataracts; this youngster was



9 AND 11 YEARS OLD. THINNING BEETS.

found groping his way down the beet-rows, pulling out weeds and feeling for the beet plants—the glare of the sun made him lose all sense of light and dark.

### RETARDATION

Of the 340 children who were attending or had attended school, only four were graduates; just one had gone on to high school, and less than one per cent had reached the 8th grade. Their failure to graduate was a direct result of the migration of the family to the beet-fields in the early spring; naturally when they return to the

city in the fall, the child knowing that he will be "put back," refuses to return to school.

The school authorities fail to "pick up" the returning beet-workers because, as one truancy officer said, "Now you see 'em and now you don't." Even when the children do return to school on the completion of the beet work they are behind in their classes. On the two-years graduation basis, *i.e.*, taking the first grade as normal for a child of 7 to 8 years, the second for a child 8 or 9, etc.—only 28 per cent of the beet children of compulsory school age attending school are in their normal grades; the remaining 72 per cent are retarded.

The school superintendent of Saginaw, a city serving as the winter home for many beet-weeders' families, said: "Saginaw is affected by the late entrance in the fall of a certain number of families who spend the season out in the beet fields. These families leave the city as early in the spring as the work calls them, usually the last of April or early May, depending upon the season. Two schools are affected by the attendance of the children of these migratory families. The territory adjoining these schools is alike in this respect—many small cheap dwellings are found therein. The number of children we have to provide for at the Potter School amounts to one roomfull—varying in different years from 28 to 42 pupils. We find the best way to care for them is to put them in an ungraded room; they rarely fit well into regular grades as they do not enter until late in October or early November, and their parents flit away with them in April or May."

#### SHORTENING THE SCHOOL TERM

Only 56 children left school less than a month from the time the investigation was made in the month of June, and of this number but 17 had actually completed the school term in the rural schools. Seventy-two children left school one month previous to the investigation and 21 left school two months before. Eighty-seven children left school three months before—in other words practically *one-third* of the children of beet-weeders lost three whole months of school in the spring term alone! Seventeen children, all under 14 years of age, had left school during the year, but more than three months before the investigation was begun.

By multiplying these attendance figures by the number of seasons the families have gone to "beets" we get a long-distance view of what we may expect from these children as future American citizens. For 62 families, this season marks their entrance to the beet industry. Thirty-seven families are working beets for the second season, eight families have worked for three seasons, six for four seasons, and four have worked for five seasons. Fifteen families have worked in beets for more than five years and one, after 17 years of work, has finally been able to buy its own farm in addition to owning a home in Bay City.

In sugar-factory towns, where many of the beet-workers seek factory employment after the beet season, the educational authorities have started "beeters' classes"—ungraded classes giving special instruction. In parts of Tuscola county a two-week's "beet vacation" is granted the children in late October, in order that they may help the farmers harvest the beets, but this regulation really applies only to children of resident families since those of the migrant families rarely attend

school at all in the fall. An interesting experiment has just been announced as a remedy for the attendance situation in the Colorado beet fields. Special summer schools are to be opened in July and August for children employed in the sugar-beet fields during the harvest months of September and October. Children will thus make up for the two months which they would otherwise lose. With the exception of these few experiments no practical steps have been taken to meet the educational problem of the beet-workers' children.



THEY ARE ALL IN THE BEETS.

#### AMERICANIZATION

The clannishness of these foreign families tends to thwart any attempt at Americanization. The children of Hungarian, Polish



and German parents are sent to parochial schools where their native tongues are taught. For the most part the writer had to carry on conversation with the parents with the aid of an interpreter, usually a child, or a neighbor farm hand. It was curious to note how many families were anxious to save up enough money to take their children back to the old country. By dint of hard work and great thrift many families have been able to save. A Czecho-Slovak family working beets for eight years hopes to rent its own farm next year. Of the three children, Steve, 18 years, Mike, 16 years, and Anna, 15 years, none has gone above the second grade in school and all speak broken English.

A Russo-German family, claiming to have owned a 320-acre farm in North Dakota which they sold for \$15,000, came to Saginaw and invested the money in business. Part of their investment turned out badly and they were compelled to work in beets. Ten-year-old John acted as interpreter, for neither the father nor the mother could speak English.

In the frequent quarrels between beet help and farmers, much of the trouble is due to the laborer's inability to understand the language. The Industrial Workers of the World have entered this disintegrated group, and have used foreign-language-speaking agitators in all of their strike organization work.

## THE HARVEST SEASON

The first part of this report was based upon facts gathered in the spring. In order to have a complete study of the sugar-beet industry, it was necessary to revisit the families in the harvest season. At this time special attention was paid to the school situation, although the questions of migration, housing and working conditions were considered.

The harvesting of beets is probably more difficult work than thinning and weeding, for the beets must be pulled, topped, and piled ready to be sent to the beet station. The late autumn days are cold, heavy rains cause the ground to become mucky, and the shacks thrown up for summer use afford little protection against the autumn chill.

## MIGRATION

In going over the territory visited earlier in the spring, the investigator was informed time and time again of the "moving on" of the beet families before their contract was fulfilled. Seventy-six families were visited; of this number only six were new cases; twenty, or more than one-fourth, had moved away; a few were transferred by the beet boss to some other farm; six had left their farms as early as June, eleven left in August, and three in September. In almost every instance where the family left the beet field they returned to the city from which they came. The usual reasons



HERE'S TOPPING 'EM.

given for leaving were inability to get on with the farmer, dissatisfaction with work, with living conditions, or with pay.

A family of five disappeared from the farm upon which they were living and were gone a week before the farmer became aware of their absence. A passing meat truck had picked up this family of beet-workers as they were trudging down the road, all their possessions on their backs, bound for the city. Another family, who were on bad terms with their farmer, left him in the lurch just when his beets were ready to be topped, and moved to a neighboring village. The music teacher referred to above left for Chicago in the early part of July. Beet-work was too hard!

The attempt to learn where the beet families expected to migrate when the harvest season came to an end brought to light the fact that while some had no plans, whatever, and many were uncertain, more than one-half expected to return to the cities from which they had come, and a fourth expected to move to some nearby city. This group included many of the families coming from the eastern cities: New York, Buffalo, and Passaic. Eleven families, or less than one-sixth of the total number visited, planned to remain in the country, having either rented a farm, or secured work for the winter.

### WORKING CONDITIONS

Although the work becomes increasingly more difficult during the fall, the beet-help work under the same conditions during the harvest that prevail in the spring. In the spring the beet-worker is busy with the planting, weeding and thinning; during the month of August, however, there is relatively little to be done and it is at this time that the help becomes restless and eager to move on. The field boss, however, must retain them for the harvest season, and this is indeed no easy task. An American family, considered a prize by the agent because of the fact that there were nine children, turned out to be a "flunk." They could not work in the beet fields, they ran up a bill at the country store, and one day the father and eldest son, a boy of 19, were seen running through the railroad station to catch an outgoing train. The grocer thought they were "jumping" their bill. He telephoned ahead to the sheriff of the next town. They were taken off the train by the sheriff and given the option of going back to the farm or staying in jail. They preferred to stay in jail and remained there for two weeks. Meanwhile the mother and her eight children, ranging in age from 17 years to 9 months, had to manage the best way they could. At the end of the two weeks father and son were set free. They went to Chicago and secured jobs in the furnace room of some building. During all of this period the farmers of the community sent in provisions to keep the wife and children from starving.

In another family with six children a boy of 16 left the beet fields and went to Cleveland, because, as he said, "Beet work is a scab job. You work 16 hours a day and you get no extra money and no time for yourself!"



In the vicinity of Munger, Bay County, chicory is raised extensively and under the same conditions as beets. Workers complained that farmers did not cultivate the land properly and thus the pulling of chicory was made more difficult. It was necessary to import several Mexican families to harvest the crop because so many of the old help left suddenly in the fall.

Often the farmers require extra services of their beet help which they are loath to perform because there is no extra money given. However, in many instances, the relations between farmer and help were most friendly and there was no bickering over the amount of



THE WHOLE FAMILY WORKS.

work to be done. This, of course, depended upon the personal factors involved.

#### SCHOOL SITUATION

The directions given by the department of public instruction for taking the school census (School Laws, 1917) include the following statement:

“Children of temporary residence are not to be taken on the census list unless the parents or guardian declare they are residents of that district. This applies to children of summer resorters, *beet-weeders*, and other temporary residents.”

This clause is interpreted by most attendance officers to mean that their jurisdiction does not extend to the children of migrant families. Inasmuch as their names are not on the census, and no primary money is collected for them, these children apparently do not belong to the school community. In Saginaw county the officer declared he did the best he could, but that since the rural districts never sent in a list of the children of beet families, it was difficult for him to round them up.

With one exception none of the children of the families visited were attending school during the harvest season, and only 20 sent their children to school at all during the fall months; these had attended previous to the harvesting, for terms varying from several days to a month. The one mother who had continued to send her children to school during the harvest season, a Polish woman, declared proudly that she would work but her little ones must have an education. The two little girls did help in the fields when they came home from school.

The Michigan Sugar Company loaned to the Père Marquette Railroad a train-load of Mexican families sometime in the end of August. These families had worked at beets during the entire spring season, and were now living in box cars on a side track in the city of Saginaw, the women keeping house while the men worked for the railroad. The city school authorities found fifteen children of school age in these cars and decided to form a special class at a nearby school. For three weeks these Mexican children attended. One morning in October, when the harvest season was at its height, the teacher telephoned the superintendent of schools that none of the Mexicans had appeared. An investigation was made and it was learned that early that morning a locomotive had been attached to the box cars and the families carried off to the beet fields.

Nine schools were visited in Saginaw County to determine to what extent children of beet-weeders' families were in attendance or had been, previous to the harvest season. The Owosso Prairie Farm School, described earlier in this report, had an enrollment in September of 67 children. On the day of the investigator's visit, there were but 16 present and the majority of these were too young to work. In Bay County, which has 70 rural schools, there were but 12 in session in the early part of October. Beet vacations, ranging from two weeks, to one month, had been declared by the

school boards. In one school district it was extended to nine weeks in order that beans might be harvested as well as beets. Comparatively few of these schools open in August to make up time lost during beet vacations. In Bay City, the superintendent of schools, felt that the problem of the beet children was comparatively small. No undue amount of attention was paid to it because the children "dribbled" in during the months of October and November, causing no appreciable increase in school attendance.

In Tuscola County there were no beet vacations declared in the schools this fall, although many children of residents' families



MOTHER AND DAUGHTER IN BEETS.

were absent for several weeks in order to help in the fields. The truant officer of this county also asserted that he had no jurisdiction over the children of migrant foreign families. The school boards of the rural districts never report these families to the truant officer and "he can't be scouring the country for them."

#### PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The problem of attendance is complicated by the fact that the majority of resident foreign families send their children to parochial schools. There is little co-operation, on the whole, between public



and parochial schools. In a small village in Saginaw County the public school had an enrollment of 80 children and none were staying out to help in beets. The parochial school in that village had an enrollment of 200 children with 16 children staying out and more planning to leave the following week. The Sister in charge stated that she never reported absences to truant officers because the children came back anyway if they lived in the section and if they moved, they were out of her care. In Saginaw, the school authorities claimed that there was an attempt to check up truancy in parochial schools but that it was hard for one officer to follow up both public and parochial schools. In Bay City the truant officer stated that the parochial school had an enrollment of over 2,800 children, many of whom came from the outskirts of the city and even from the rural districts of the county, and that it would be impossible for him to take care of their attendance problem even if all absences were reported.

Since there is so little attention paid to the enforcement of the attendance law in parochial schools as far as resident children are concerned, how much less is the consideration paid to the child of migrant workers? The educational problem of the child beet-worker is indeed a problem!

## SUMMARY

The problems affecting the migratory family in the industrial field cannot be easily solved. As long as there is exploitation of the ignorant foreign laborer and as long as he is unable to fight the chicanery of men accustomed to the "game," so long will these problems exist. They are the products of the present social and economic system. Some recommendations of a palliative nature may be made, however, which would vastly improve their present condition.

1. The sugar company should assume responsibility for the promises of the labor agent or curb his activities. Few people call a "spade a spade" but it is certainly unnecessary for the agent to call a "hog-house" a "mansion."
2. The vile housing accommodations which now exist should be abolished. If one sugar company has found that it

pays to build decent living quarters for its help, it would seem that the scheme might be carried further; certainly it would be cheaper for the company to erect suitable dwelling places than to depend upon the shacks given by the farmers. It would be a large factor in reducing the labor turnover.

3. The compulsory education law must be enforced and educational facilities provided. Schooling for the child in agriculture has always been a difficult problem. Everywhere rural education falls behind urban and the child loses out—the school term is shorter, the compulsory attendance law is less stringently enforced—and in general, less time, thought and money is given to the rural school. But the child beet-worker is even more handicapped than the farmer's child, for he migrates to the fields in April, does not return home until November, and loses practically half the school term. What may we expect of children raised in such environments as have been depicted—children of migratory foreign laborers, bound to be shut off from all educational opportunities under the existing conditions? It would seem that they will become powerful factors in future industrial upheavals and that we, as a nation, are responsible for their education.

Whether it is the problem of the state or of the local community in which the beet-workers live, to take charge of the education of child beet-workers, is an open question. Certainly it would seem that the law of the state compelling attendance at school should apply to every child without discrimination.

The instincts and forces which impel families to migrate can not be curbed, for they are rooted in the principle of self-preservation. It is natural for people to want "to do better," and to move about when an opportunity arises. This may be done, even though it sacrifices their children. It is the duty of the state, therefore, to protect them, and to provide educational facilities and opportunities for the full development of the children of migrant laborers.

## LATIN-AMERICA'S SOCIAL VIEWS

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The Second Pan-American Child Welfare Congress, held recently in Montevideo, took up an advanced position on matters in its field. Under the Presidency of Dr. Luis Morquio, a leading physician of Montevideo, a comprehensive program was carried out and the views of the delegates set forth in the form of resolutions, printed copies of which have just been received here. Unlike our National Conference on Social Work, which does not take a stand on controversial matters, nor as a rule on any question, this international American Congress is conducted largely for the purpose of arriving at conclusions after full discussion of each subject presented. It follows European procedure and requires the submission in advance, not only of papers, but of summaries of the authors' conclusions, and the latter are immediately printed and distributed among members prior to the meetings, so that they may be pondered and the discussions thus made more intelligent and to the point. In section meetings the full papers are not read, as a rule, but may be consulted by any delegate; instead, the authors' conclusions are announced, discussed and adopted, amended or rejected by vote of those attending. Such action of the section meetings must be approved at a general session before it can represent the position of the Congress. Of necessity, this procedure provokes lively discussion and a "deadly" meeting is a rarity. At Montevideo, physicians, lawyers, educators, clergymen and social workers from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and other Latin-American countries came together, a few North Americans being present, and the community of interest in the field of social welfare among all these nations was strikingly illustrated by the similarity of their conditions affecting children as described by their several representatives. It was fitting that the Congress should have been held in this beautiful capital of Uruguay and a progressive platform adopted. For Uruguay, in spite of her diminutive size, is a leader in South American thought, and judged



by the standard of her laws and institutions, is one of the most progressive countries in the world.

The Congress was divided into four sections—medicine, hygiene, education, and sociology—and their resolutions or declarations, as approved at a general session, or, as they are known in Spanish, "sanctioned conclusions," cover a wide area. Infant mortality, vital statistics, diseases of childhood, health, education, eugenics, sex education, treatment of the crippled, dental work, prevention of blindness, feeding and care of babies, housing, poor relief, abandoned children, juvenile courts, institutions, employment of women and children, compulsory school attendance, industrial education, minimum wage, movie censorship, means of propaganda, methods of administration, international co-operation and the prevailing social system were all passed upon in one way or another. They ring familiarly in our own ears, although "international co-operation" has a strange sound, for so far as social welfare is concerned, we have neglected this matter and kept aloof from our neighbors. But the Latin-Americans are showing us the way into this new field, and indeed, their chief aim in establishing the Congress was to make it serve as the common ground on which the social workers of North, Central, and South America might meet and make known to one another their problems, their solutions and their ideals.

It is a sign of the times that the social thinking of Latin-America as reflected in the conclusions of this Congress, is shot through and through with protests against poverty as the root of many ills, coupled with demands for its cure through economic reforms. These are clearly expressed in resolutions on subjects differing widely one from another, and indicate a consensus of opinion as to one of the many causes of social distress. Among the conclusions with regard to infant mortality, adopted by the section on hygiene, and approved by the Congress, is one ascribing the high death rate largely to "economic and social inequality" and calling upon American governments to deal with fundamental questions in the life of the working classes, so that this cause may, so far as possible, be removed. Again, the section on sociology, after having set forth its position on juvenile delinquency and the employment of women and children, declared, with the endorsement of a general session, that "as poverty creates conditions inimical to the health and normal mental state of children, and as over-abundance may undermine

health and beget mental types undesirable in a well-organized society, the future welfare of the people requires the prevention of both poverty and over-abundance." Again, the Congress summed up the general attitude of its conclusions in this formal statement: "As all the conclusions relative to individual and social problems of childhood—to-wit, birth, death, crime, vagrancy, alcoholism, tuberculosis, degeneracy, education, treatment and hygiene—recognize the economic factor as a primary cause because it is present in all; and as dealing with the individual causes of these problems without attacking the one common to them all, is merely treating the symptoms and not the disease, all efforts for the welfare of children should, with due regard to the special solution that each problem may require, be directed towards modifying the bad economic organization of the present social system."

Another outstanding feature of the resolutions is the desire for intercourse among the nations of the Western Hemisphere to acquaint the peoples of the twenty-one American republics with American conditions and with American methods of dealing with them, and through this exchange of experience to foster the growth of friendliness and understanding in international affairs. The recommendations and appeals in all the resolutions are addressed to the American countries or the American governments, for the outlook of the Congress is broad and not limited to a few nations of South America, as many persons here are inclined to assume. For example, one of the conclusions approved by the section on sociology and endorsed by the Congress, is to the effect that "child protection and the principles underlying legislation on the subject should be a matter for international agreement by which these principles would be incorporated into a system of law everywhere, as it is now proposed to do with labor legislation in the Covenant of the League of Nations." Again, the section on education urges that "American governments aid in every possible way in promoting excursions within each country and from one country to another, for purposes of study, as arranged by scientific institutions, learned bodies and educational establishments." The same section in reference to education in art, recommends that "American artists, painters, musicians, poets, etc., produce essentially American works and arrange for their interchange among all American countries with a view to presenting pure American art to the schools



and thus furthering the great undertaking of Americanizing America."

Infant care in its various phases received a good deal of attention. To encourage breast-feeding, the section on hygiene recommended the awarding by child-caring agencies, of cash prizes or subsidies, urged the providing of mid-wives at public expense for service in rural districts, and suggested that pure milk stations have woman's milk in bottles available for distribution at retail among nursing babies in need of it. The section on medicine formulated a strong appeal in these words: "The Congress, recognizing the supreme importance of breast-feeding and believing that its wider and continued practice is the best and perhaps the only way to fight against infant morbidity and mortality, asks all physicians to give daily advice concerning it; asks pediatrics societies to carry on insistent propaganda in its behalf; asks public health authorities to write over the entrances to all places where children are cared for, that the child has a right to its mother's breast; asks governments to lend their moral support and material aid in this propaganda; and especially reminds the American woman of Pinard's saying that 'the breasts of a mother, like her heart, cannot be replaced.'"

With regard to infant mortality, the creation in every South American country of a public agency to centralize and direct the efforts to reduce it was advocated, the Congress holding, however, that the movement should not be confined to large centers of population, but that preventive measures should be extended to all places. As one means to reduction, it was declared that knowledge of child-caring methods should be imparted to children as well as to adults, and the practical instruction of girls in the upper grades in the common schools through the use of charts, readers, lectures, etc., was suggested to overcome the prevailing ignorance among the different social classes concerning the proper care of babies. The need of uniform statistical data on infant mortality was emphasized, as well as a demand for a special death certificate for deaths occurring in early childhood, showing legitimacy or illegitimacy and the kind of nourishment given according to the facts in each case, and the recommendation was made that vital statistics specify the mortality separately for each week of age in the first month; for each month in the first year; and afterwards for each year up to



three years of age. It was insisted that "protection of the child should begin before conception by means of all the legal, economic and moral measures designed to insure the fullness of woman's social contribution, and continue through adolescence so that manhood and womanhood may be entered into with psychophysical attributes fully developed as the only means of securing the improvement of the race."

Pre-natal prevention of purulent ophthalmia in newly born babies by special treatment of infectious genital lesions was urged and it was suggested that public health authorities include it among the contagious diseases which they require to be declared. Stronger measures for stamping out trachoma were advocated, among them the prohibiting of the entry of immigrants afflicted with the disease and the barring from the schools of all children suffering from it. Public and private agencies and particularly educational societies and institutions were asked to spread abroad medical prescriptions and advice concerning the prevention of blindness, and the state was called upon to provide for the education and welfare of the blind by establishing special institutions for their training and care.

Some of these recommendations may seem elementary to us and imply arrested development in Latin-American social service, but it must be remembered that they are intended to point the way and stimulate backward countries, and that the leading South American nations are fully awake to the menace of conditions and offer these suggestions to their neighbors in the light of the experience they have long since gained themselves in seeking remedies for their own ills. For that matter, who is so bold as to deny that these recommendations could be adopted to advantage by many of the states of our Union?

Chile was congratulated on the interest which its government has taken in the improvement of housing conditions for working people, an important factor in social hygiene, and the section on medicine, viewing with alarm the frequency of latent tuberculosis in late childhood and convinced that its chief cause lies in the unhealthy dwellings of the poor, asks public authorities to see that working people are given the hygienic housing to which they are entitled.

The economic factor came to the fore again in a resolution adopted by the section on sociology with regard to the general sub-

ject of the employment of mothers, as follows: "As living conditions are determined by income, efforts should be directed primarily toward the fixing of minimum wages for workers so that their earnings may not be merely crumbs tossed to beggars to keep them from starving, but sufficient to enable them to attend properly to their physical, intellectual and moral needs, as they have the right to do by virtue of being human."

It was declared that the employment of pregnant women should be restricted, even in the early period of pregnancy, and that as rest, both before and after confinement, is considered to be hygienically necessary, laws should be passed making such rest obligatory during the period when science considers it indispensable for safeguarding the health of mother and child, and with such arrangement for continuance of income as each country may see fit to make in order to insure the mother's enjoyment of this rest without suffering from poverty. As the steps to be taken in this matter by each country must of necessity be determined by the conditions peculiar to it, "it will have to be studied from the national viewpoint and as the goal is the development of the future American race, capable of dealing with the problems that are to come, it would be wise to establish relations among American countries and learn what has already been done."

The section on sociology recommended that the gainful employment of children under 15 years of age be generally prohibited and that they be barred from industry until 16 years old; that street trading by minors or by boys who have not reached at least the age of 18 years should be prohibited; that work injurious to health or morals should be forbidden to minors; that a physician's certificate of physical fitness for the work he intends to do should be required of every minor; that the work-day of minors under 19 years should be limited to six hours; that night work by minors should be prohibited; and that places where minors are employed should be subject to strict regulation to insure proper conditions as to safety, morals and hygiene. In connection with the foregoing it was recommended that compulsory school attendance with complete practical instruction, be extended to the age of 15 years and that the employment of children be forbidden unless they prove that they have reached this age.

In respect of compulsory school attendance the section on



education held that all American countries, inspired by that concept of well-rounded education which characterizes the new development in elementary schooling, should take steps to make such schooling strictly compulsory for children and youths until they have completed the so-called elementary course, and that teachers and measures should be chosen because of their adaptation to the work whose fundamental object is preparing men and women for the struggle of life. The principle of national aid to states or provinces unable to make full provision for such education themselves was set forth and endorsed. In order that compulsory attendance be productive of good results, and recognizing that it applies to all aspects of the school problem, it was asserted that elementary education should embrace (1) the pre-school period; (2) the period of compulsory common schooling from eight to twelve years of age, and specialized or vocational from twelve to fifteen years of age; (3) subsequent education; (4) programme, teachers, buildings, equipment, etc.; (5) grading of children according to their psychophysical condition. This grouping is interesting as compared with our own ideas on the subject. It was declared also that school laws should not rely entirely upon compulsion to accomplish their purpose, but should take into consideration the two important factors of educational propaganda and the work of school welfare agencies.

If the view of the Congress on industrial education should prevail, the common school curriculum would be industrialized with a vengeance, for it would make elementary education so practical and so adapted to the fundamental requirements of industry, that children would be prepared to take their place in the world, and for this purpose it would have a competent personnel, trained to give instruction in the elements of industry to the pupils of the common schools. It urges that efforts be put forth to develop an independent productive conscience and that common school teachers equip themselves to achieve this end gradually and in a practical way.

An abandoned child was defined and grounds for the withdrawal of parental authority specified, the principle of the guardianship of the state was set forth and the power to delegate the duties entailed to suitable persons or agencies. One of the resolutions on this subject is quoted: "The abandoned child has a right



to protection by society as represented by the state, and in its turn the state is under obligation to shelter and educate him. Such protection is not charity, but an essential part of social policy, and should be so treated in the law. This right of the abandoned child cannot be denied or abridged by reason of nationality, race, international agreements or other similar reasons; it must be considered as inherent in his character as a person."

Juvenile courts or guardians of childhood, as the Spanish term could be more literally translated, and a revision of the law in principle and form as it affects delinquent minors, were demanded. The special provisions cited included the specializing of the court to the highest degree, the requirement that the judge be a specialist in children's cases, the holding of trial in chambers, authority for special procedure and for the replacing of formal judgments with decisions determined by the educational and constructive ends to be served, empowering the judge to adopt such measures according to the needs of each case as he might deem best suited to the child's interests. "Minors in detention, whether delinquent or awaiting trial, should never be held in the common quarters of a police station, and those found delinquent should never be put into a prison." Recommendations were also made for the erection of necessary reformatory schools and for the encouragement of juvenile protective associations.

Motion-picture censorship was advocated by the sections on hygiene and education, as well as the passage of laws regulating the attendance of children at shows. The educational and cultural value of the movies was acknowledged and it was suggested that films of this character be exchanged by American countries as a means of broadening children's knowledge and strengthening further the bonds of American solidarity. The disturbing elements which now figure so largely in the majority of commercial films were denounced, as was also the so-called "Red Chronicle" of crime and suicide in the newspapers which "tends to distort a true conception of life in the minds of both children and youths."

A demand for centralization of activities and public control in administration, was voiced in several of the conclusions endorsed. One urged that all public and private efforts for preserving health in early childhood should be united in one independent agency with a single directing body under the control of the state. Another, that

American countries in which child-care was not already officially organized, should create a general superintendency charged with the oversight and inspection of all public institutions and private agencies caring for children, for the purpose of co-ordinating efforts, setting up uniform standards of procedure, avoiding errors and waste of energy, and obtaining the most effective results. Technical ability as revealed by their experience, special training or competitive examination would be required of applicants for all public offices concerned with the protection, care, treatment and relief of children, if another of the plans were carried out, and according to a further pronouncement, government officials in charge of elementary education in American countries could be chosen only by their respective bodies of teachers.

The sentiment for closer contact among American peoples in the task of raising child life to a higher plane was crystallized in a significant statement formulated and issued by the Congress at the last general session. Its vision of unity and spirit of co-operation speak for themselves: "The Congress accepts the suggestion of President Luis Morquio, that an International American Bureau of Child Protection be formed to serve as the center in America for study, effort and propaganda in all matters pertaining to the welfare of children. This Bureau will be an official agent of all member countries and will have its seat in the city of Montevideo. The government of Uruguay will ask the legislature to enact a measure creating this Bureau and will draw up rules and regulations for its management by agreement with the other American governments."

Verily the voice of the child is heard in the land.

# THE RED CROSS AND AMERICAN CHILDREN

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A. K. MARSHALL

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The Red Cross in the days before the war was a latent agency which sprang into action at the alarm of some great disaster or epidemic, only to fall back again into its hibernating attitude as soon as its services of relief were finished. The war, however, has been the cause of a world awakening to the necessity for constant vigilance against misery and disease which are the worst scourges because they are ever-present. It is perhaps not surprising that this "greatest mother" should turn her enthusiastic attentions toward her most appealing children, the youths of America. For their welfare and happiness she is eager to provide them with a start that will insure to the country citizens who are sound mentally, morally and physically.

In the country-wide campaign which has been in operation during the summer of 1919, twenty-five Red Cross nurses who had seen service overseas went the rounds of the Chautauquas lecturing on and demonstrating public health. They were forerunners of what the Red Cross hopes will be a permanent institution in every community—a public health nurse. In small communities, she will not only visit the homes and avert serious illness and epidemics even, but will also take the place of health centers which have been established in some cities. Whether the community nurse be a Red Cross nurse does not matter. It is to educate the people of the country to the needs of such a nurse that the Red Cross is working. She is the friend of the community but above all, she is the friend of the children.

Every school child will be given a physical examination, his deformities corrected, and a study made of the conditions in his home, to discover whether he is suffering from malnutrition or neglect.

Not only are their health needs to be looked after, but also their needs for play and service. In order that the younger organization, the Junior Red Cross, may serve in its capacity of "children



helping children" its two years of existence have taught it that every member can be of assistance in the great work of the Red Cross. Basing its peace-time program upon its war experience, the Junior Red Cross is now entering upon a career that promises a future of unusual proportions not only to those who serve, but to those for whom the services are rendered.

In every school throughout the United States, the children are asked to become members of this organization. There are already more than eleven million members, a veritable army, organized for humanity.

What can a body of children accomplish? By co-operating with the various branches of the senior organization, the Juniors are serving their fellows in a way that will fit them for the larger responsibilities of life which will confront them in the future, and will show them the way to a higher citizenship, which works not for gain, but for good.

The Junior Red Cross is planning to help the suffering children in our own country, in addition to those they are aiding in the war-swept countries of Europe, the responsibility of whose care they undertook during the war, and who still look to them for a friendly lift. Their program includes helping cripples to gain an education by supplying them with transportation to school, making crutches for them, and visiting the shut-ins, as well as providing teachers for these latter. For those children whose fathers were badly injured in the war, and who would otherwise be obliged to begin work at too early an age they are planning to provide scholarships to enable a longer period of school days. Open-air camps for tubercular children are being established.

To study those things which give a greater mental outlook can not be stressed too highly. Yet there is also a need for the practical courses in the curriculum of the schools, and it is to provide these that the Red Cross is outlining courses in home hygiene and care of the sick, first aid, and manual arts courses which will teach not just how to sew or do carpentry, but will bring also a motive for the doing. The inspiration and interest which this method evoked among the children during the war, has shown its value as a force not to be relegated to the past as a mere war-time idea. Then, the boys made articles for hospitals and for army officers, while the girls made refugee garments and soldiers comforts. Service with

a motive has made the Junior Red Cross what it is. Now the boys are making in their schools furniture for the refugees of France and Belgium, the girls are sewing for little American babies the same type of tiny garments which they made to keep refugee children warm. They know what will become of their output. There is not that old-time lagging due to mere sewing in order to learn how to sew. How painstakingly our grandmothers made samplers which still exist to prove the perfection of their needlework! How much more enthusiasm attaches to the work of the modern school girl who can make little clothes which she knows will be worn almost at once, and will not be in existence when her grandchildren look to her labors for inspiration—they must look to the spirit of the work and not at the material output.

There seems almost no end to the undertakings of the Juniors of the Red Cross. We hear of them making gardens, providing entertainments for the sick, entering into the community program of swat the fly or clean-up week with all the eagerness and will to accomplish results which their elders show. The Juniors of today are the Seniors of tomorrow. The future of the American Red Cross is safe in the hands of such as these!

# URBAN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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JOHN COLLIER

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Community organization in cities is proving to have two uses from the standpoint of child welfare.

First, it sets ten people to work on child welfare tasks, where one person worked before.

Second, it turns whole neighborhoods and whole cities into study groups on child welfare and forums on child welfare.

The results, from the standpoint of legislation, public appropriations for child welfare work, and an understanding of social questions in terms of the child, are of course, momentous.

It is perhaps more true to say that the results *will be* momentous as the years roll on, for a thorough-going community organization is scarcely more than three or four years old in America. Three outstanding pieces of community work will illustrate the use of community organization to child welfare. They are the Framingham Community Health Demonstration, the Cincinnati Social Unit Demonstration, and the Community Council organization of Greater New York.

The Framingham Demonstration centered first around tuberculosis, then around health, most broadly considered, and is now developing into a community organization for civic purposes generally. Because personal hygiene, prompt diagnosis, and early treatment are known factors of great importance in health, the Framingham Demonstration has proceeded to inform all the people in matters of personal hygiene, and to create a sentiment toward and a habit of periodical examination and early treatment. Neighborhood committees, reaching virtually all the citizens, have been important aids in the technical work of the demonstration. Readers of this article are advised to obtain the complete literature of the Framingham Demonstration—literature which is objective and reliable to a degree.

The Cincinnati Social Unit has achieved a two-fold organization, in which the social agencies, along with representatives of



vocations, have executed a systematic teamwork, while the people have been organized on a block basis, the blocks being united with each other through selected block workers, and this popular community organization being united with the technical organization in ways both formal and informal. The block worker in Cincinnati is, from our present standpoint, the keystone of the arch. She knows everybody, records the comings and goings of families, transmits to the central headquarters any requests for information or help or any complaint, and calls in for consultation or service any needed physician or social specialist. Necessarily, every phase of child welfare is thrust on the block worker's attention, and through her, is thrust on the attention of the neighborhood group. Furthermore, the neighborhood finds itself soliciting the advice and technical services of the specialist in every phase of child welfare. Cincinnati is thus perfecting a new device of social inter-action, which, if applied all over America, would create an educated and an habitually active public opinion on child welfare in a very short time.

Of special interest to readers of this article, because of the economic nature and ready duplication of the method, is the work of Community Councils in New York. It is worth while to describe the system of councils before giving illustrations from the field of child welfare.

Each Community Council draws its members from a geographical area, and each council aims to bring to every citizen in the area opportunity for public service and for social life. About eighty of these councils exist today, and the number to be organized in the near future is about four hundred and fifty in Greater New York.

The citizens of the district, who become enrolled members of the council, and who are organized under a constitution, have complete power over the work of their local council. Every council must be self-supporting, and controls the funds which it raises.

Alongside the popular organization of each council, stands the advisory committee. The advisory committee invites representation from every agency, public and private, from every group existing for public advantage, which has its headquarters in the neighborhood, or carries out work in the neighborhood. Such agencies are the various bureaus of the department of health, the

department of parks, the school organization, the charity organization society district committee, the local Red Cross chapter, the trade union with headquarters or members in the district.

Community Councils are not isolated groups, but are united through selected delegates in a city parliament of Community Councils, whose meetings are held monthly at City Hall.

The councils are promoted through an executive committee, which serves but in no way governs them. Any local council is free to accept or reject the services of this executive committee, and as the system of councils develops fully, the executive committee will surrender its various duties to the parliament of councils and to such executive bureaus as the parliament may create. The honest and absolute democracy of this plan has been so convincing to the local neighborhoods, that complete harmony prevails between the executive committee and the local councils, and between both and the city parliament of councils.

The executive committee works through field organizers and maintains a directory of resources and bureau of information on everything pertaining to human welfare. There are special committees with employed staffs on health, recreation, and industrial problems. But as above stated, every local council meets all its own costs; this rule, adhered to from the beginning of the movement in 1918, has proved to be not only a healthy rule from the moral point of view, but an expedient rule from the standpoint of quick results and sustained local activity.

Now what do these local community councils concern themselves with? They were started just before the signing of the armistice, but their growth post-dates the armistice although they continue as quasi official national agencies, united with the other community councils of America through the Council of National Defense at Washington.

It can be said that nearly every human concern that requires discussion, is being dealt with through one or more of the New York councils. Outstanding activities are the recreation work of the councils—neighborhood recreation service, the equipment and maintenance of back-yard and street playgrounds, street singing and forums and theatricals, the use of public buildings for recreation for people of all ages. The New York Community Councils have been requested by the department of parks to formulate for



it a comprehensive program of recreational development, and they work intimately and constantly with the department of education.

During the influenza epidemic, the Community Councils, acting for the department of health, created more than one hundred and twenty emergency headquarters for meeting all needs growing out of influenza. Such a service was made possible through the co-operation of all sorts of affiliated agencies—settlements, churches, and school community centers. But it is interesting to note that in the Bronx Borough, containing a million people, only one of the emergency headquarters could be located in the settlement, and in the Borough of Queens, with one-half a million people, there was not one settlement available. Community Councils reach out into the well-to-do population groups and areas of New York where the earlier established social service agencies have scarcely found their way at all.

The Community Councils made themselves responsible for canvassing all the small industries of a large part of New York to secure positions for soldiers and discharged war workers.

The distribution of army food supplies has been made possible through volunteer services of Community Councils' workers, and the councils are maintaining a fair price work in 103 city neighborhoods.

Among technical services, the councils disposed of more than seven thousand investigations for the War Risk Bureau, completing the task in two weeks' time without any strain on the energies of the councils.

These particular activities are not the heart and soul of the council. Fundamentally, the Community Council is a town meeting where all sorts and conditions of men learn to know each other and are brought into contact with civic needs, local and general. But if the Community Councils were *merely* a forum, its significance would be far less than is the actual condition. The Community Council is a *forum organized for action*, executing its missions through active committees of citizens, and utilizing in a systematic way all public departments, all institutional resources, and all powerful groups in the neighborhood and in the greater city. The quality of mass thinking and mass action is insured, through the fact that every council brings a monthly report of its activity and a statement of its problems to the parliament of councils, whose meetings



regularly last three or four hours, and which, in its turn, carries out special investigations and enterprises through special or standing committees.

The aim of Community Councils, which had the character of a dream twelve months ago, and which is now a practicable intention, undergoing swift realization, is to bring every citizen and every group into daily contact with the serious problems of the community. But the method is one which could almost be said to make citizenship into a form of play. Community Councils are not merely improvement societies, but are co-operative organizations for play and intellectual discourse, out of which comes a broadened human nature and an informed determination to get things done in the world. They aim to become America's counter-part of the co-operative movement of Europe, different from the European co-operative movement in that they are not institutions apart from the state but are agencies of the state, although self-supporting, voluntary, and self-governed agencies.

Three types of community endeavor have been mentioned. A fourth type should be added—the community center, which ideally is a union of the public school organization with the neighbors of the school. The community center tends to become a people's club, governing and supporting itself in small or large measure. Readers should obtain from the New York Board of Education its current report on community centers, and should know about Mrs. Harvey's community organization in Missouri, which is described in Miss Dewey's book "New Schools for Old." The Child Health Organization literature is also noteworthy from the community organization standpoint (Child Health Organization, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York). The community centers and Community Councils are intimately related in New York, as in many other places. Full literature on Community Councils can be had free of charge from Room 2205, Municipal Building, New York.

What has the specialized child welfare organization to do with community organization? The answer is found in the sustained effort by the Social Unit and Community Council organizations, to make of the child welfare agencies an integral part of these new groupings of democracy. Popular organization requires specific motives, concrete tasks to organize toward. Child welfare provides these tasks, these motives—without number or end, and they are

intimate human motives, tasks capable of being pushed to fulfillment, Malnutrition, vocational adjustment, delinquency, child play—these are touchstones of the human problem in city and country alike. Community organization has become a massive reality. It has power to contribute to the work of child welfare. It requires urgently the enthusiasm and technical leadership of the child welfare specialist.

# PHYSICAL FITNESS, EVERY CHILD'S RIGHT

JESSIE PAYNE

The test of real civilization is the ability to feel for a large abstract condition which needs aid, the same concern felt for a definite concrete example. Scarcely a soul exists who could turn aside from a single child being wronged, yet it is far easier to discount the needs of a great number unseen.

However, with the war, came a renaissance of crusades and a general awakening to conditions which need righting. In the United States there was such concern over the number of rejects in the first draft (30% to 40%) that a great amount of consideration is being given in the search for adequate and immediate remedies.

Those figures argued that the physical education of the country was only from 60 per cent to 70 per cent efficient, while figures for young and old worked out by the Life Extension Institute showed that the physical education system has failed to produce a sound body in 50 per cent of the citizenry.

Clearly the starting point is with the children, and here too, the figures offered by medical inspectors, are most revealing. Seventy-five per cent of the school children of the country have physical defects which are potentially or actually detrimental to health. Most of these defects are pronounced by medical authorities to be remediable.

The most direct method of meeting the demand for a better health chance for the children and at the same time of raising the national physical standard is by compulsory physical education in the schools. In order to promote progressive state and federal legislation a National Physical Education Service has been established in charge of E. Dana Caulkins, Homer Building, 13th and F Streets, Washington, D. C. The Service represents more than thirty co-operating agencies, all interested in speeding the day when all school children will be provided with adequate physical education (which term includes physical training, and health and hygiene instruction).



Many of the men accepted in the first draft were lacking in the vigor and muscular power necessary for fighting men, but were made physically fit in the majority of cases by training. This fact furnishes an admirable illustration of the marvels that can be wrought even in one year by constructive exercise and recreation.

There are 25,000,000 children of school age in the United States today and these are the army which will carry on the progressive economic and spiritual movements given momentum by the war awakenings. Approximately 1,000,000 young men each year reach military age, and to these, too, we owe the best chance at health in order that they may get full returns from life in work and happiness.

Some of the most eminent leaders of the medical profession are connected with the National Service which is disseminating information on physical education needs and assisting in correct legislation. According to Dr. Eugene L. Fisk of the Life Extension Institute, 60 per cent of the poor condition of the young men of the country as revealed by the first draft was due to poor general physical condition remediable by proper nutrition, physical training and personal hygiene, to defective eyes and bad mouth conditions and to neglected surgery. Other authorities claim that, with systematic physical training for all children of school age, our next generation of leaders, workers and statesmen, would be of a markedly higher physical type. What a few months' supervised training did for our men in camps, a few years' training along with their mental work can do more thoroughly for our army of school children.

"If the proper course of physical training be put in operation throughout the United States," wrote Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, "in ten years the productiveness of the national industries will show a great increase and there will be a great decrease of stooping, stunted, slouching awkward people in the streets and factories such as are now seen."

Fifteen states have already passed laws providing for compulsory physical education in the schools and many states have the matter before their legislatures and will doubtless soon have the same provision. But even so, we are scarcely keeping pace with other countries in the movement for national physical fitness.

The Swiss Federal Council prescribes a program of physical training for every school in Switzerland. It appoints and pays national inspectors to see that this work is carried out.

In England there is already legislation providing for physical examination and treatment for all children of school age (6 to 13). Special provision is made also in the new law for physical training for mental and physical defectives and for children attending nursery schools. In fact, England has included in her plans for reorganization of her educational system extensive provision for compulsory physical education, whereas heretofore those least in need of the training were developed by sports, etc., and the least strong were passed by.

In France a National Committee under government direction has recently been appointed for the development of physical education. With the fire and quick responsiveness of their national character, the French people are meeting the need which to them, too, became suddenly apparent during the war.

The calls for aid from states all over the country to the National Physical Education Service show that there is in our own country a conviction that instituting physical training for all school children is a fundamental work which is far more important than many social, political and economic measures for which American citizens now cheerfully pay taxes.

In speaking of the character of legislation needed, Dr. Willard S. Small of the U. S. Bureau of Education said recently:

"It should interpret physical education in a broad and true way, as understood by the most competent experts in school administration and in physical education. It must assume physical activity as the basic thing, but conditioned upon and integrally related with wholesome physical environment, individual physical examination and record, medical supervision of schools and school children, development of health habits and instruction in health knowledge, hygienic school management and procedure, and co-operation with all agencies that make for physical upbuilding and the moral growth inevitably incident to sane, wholesome, active physical life.

"It must be provided for boys and girls alike. From the point of view of racial strength and integrity, the physical upbuilding of women is of equal importance with that of men, perhaps of greater importance.

"It should provide for all children and youth between 6 and 18 years of age inclusive. It should extend its benefits to youth

above the compulsory school age by recognition of agencies already organized for doing such work, in whole or in part; and by extension of the continuation school principle to include and secure a program of physical education for children in industry between 14 and 18 years of age."

It should further provide for federal aid to enable the states to erect and carry on thorough and effective systems of physical education. It should provide also for the co-operation of the Federal Public Health Service with the Federal Bureau of Education in the administration of those phases of the law in which the scientific aid of the Public Health Service are necessary.

So what are we going to do about it? Get back of the movement for national physical fitness and push? We must if we are thoughtful patriots and if we realize what it means in terms of the country's welfare for every American child to have a full chance at physical vigor.





“THE MUDDLE: OR, LOST AMIDST THE MAZES OF  
THE LAW”

*An Absurdity in Two Scenes*

EDWARD N. CLOPPER

PLACE: Albany, New York.

TIME: October, 16, 1919.

OCCASION: Child Welfare Conference.

SCENE I—A street; a shoe-polishing establishment opening on sidewalk.  
Curtain rises discovering a delegate to child welfare conference and a newsgirl with her brother on the sidewalk, and a bootblack by his chair in the shoe-polishing establishment.

*First Delegate* (buying paper in hope that his name appears): How old are you, little girl?

*Newsgirl*: Sixteen—I have to be that old under the newsboy law.

*First Delegate*: And how old is this boy?

*Newsgirl*: He's just twelve—he has to be that old under the same law.

*First Delegate*: And what is that fastened to his coat?

*Newsgirl*: That's his badge—he got it from the school people.

*First Delegate*: Is he allowed to sell papers at any time?

*Newsgirl*: No, sir, not before six o'clock in the morning or after eight at night.

*First Delegate*: How about Sunday, Christmas and Rosh Hashonah?

*Newsgirl*: It's all the same.

*First Delegate*: Who watches him to see that he minds the law?

*Newsgirl*: The school attendance officers and the police.

(*Enter Second Delegate*)

*Second Delegate* (addressing *First Delegate*): Hello, Charlie; let's get a shine—here's a shoe-polishing establishment. (*Climbs into chair.*) Now, boy, shine 'em up; how old are you?

*Bootblack:* Fourteen—I have to be that old under the child labor law.

*First Delegate:* Not under the newsboy law?

*Bootblack:* Naw—under the child labor law.

*Second Delegate:* How many hours a day do they let you work?

*Bootblack:* Eight. I can't work before eight o'clock in the morning or after six in the evening.

*First Delegate:* Where's your badge?

*Bootblack:* I don't have to have no badge. I got a work permit from the Board of Health.

*First Delegate:* Not from the school people?

*Bootblack:* Naw—from the Board of Health.

*Second Delegate:* Who keeps after you to see that you obey the law?

*Bootblack:* The mercantile inspectors from the State Industrial Commission.

*First Delegate:* Not the school attendance officers?

*Bootblack:* Naw—the mercantile inspectors.

*(Enter Third Delegate)*

*Third Delegate:* Hello, fellows. Say, I just had my shoes shined by a boy who's got a chair on the sidewalk and he doesn't know whether the child labor law applies to him or not because he's not working in a shoe-polishing establishment.

*(Enter Fourth Delegate)*

*Fourth Delegate:* Hello, fellows. Say, I just had my shoes shined by a kid who wanders around with his own kit of tools and he says no law applies to his work and he doesn't have to bother about age limits or work hours or permits or labor inspectors.

*(Enter boy peddling chewing gum)*

*First Delegate (to peddler—with bated breath):* How old are you?

*Peddler:* Sixteen—I have to be that old under the Penal Code.

*First Delegate:* Not under the newsboy law?

*Peddler:* Naw—under the Penal Code.

*Second Delegate (falteringly):* Not under the child labor law?

*Peddler:* Naw—ain't I tellin' you? Under the Penal Code.

*First Delegate:* Where's your badge?

*Peddler:* Badge? I don't have to have no badge.

*Second Delegate (bravely):* Where's your work permit?

*Peddler (scornfully):* Permit? I don't have to have no permit. I got a license.

*First Delegate:* Where did you get it—from the school people or the Board of Health?

*Peddler:* Naw—from the Bureau of Licenses at the City Hall.

*Second Delegate (desperately):* Who sees that you mind the law—the attendance officers or the mercantile inspectors?

*Peddler:* Naw, none of them guys. The police watch me.

*Third Delegate:* Say, fellows, I want to buy a pair of shoe laces and I don't want to go to jail. How about it—does the vendor have to be male or female and if so, of what age, and at what hour of the day may I buy, and must he or she have a badge, a work permit or a license, and is he or she under the newsboy law, the child labor act or the Penal Code, and who enforces it—the school attendance officers, the mercantile inspectors or the police? In short, how old is Ann?

*Chorus of Delegates:* Aw, let's go to a show. (*Exeunt.*)

—Curtain—

SCENE II—Interior of a theater, showing stage with curtain lowered. Delegates seated in front row, reading programme which announces a performance by the PRECOCIOUS INFANT MARVEL.

(*Enter Manager of Theater*)

*First Delegate (to Manager):* How old is this PRECOCIOUS INFANT MARVEL?

*Manager:* Six years old, sir.

*First Delegate:* Is a six-year-old child permitted to act on the stage?

*Manager:* Yes, indeed. You see, this child takes a speaking part—she doesn't dance or sing. The Penal Code won't allow a child under sixteen years to dance or sing on the stage but one can speak at any age if it has a permit.

*Second Delegate (breathlessly):* From the school people, the Board of Health or the Bureau of Licenses?

*Manager:* No—from the Mayor. He issues it after investigation by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. You see, the law thinks it's naughty for a child to dance or sing on the stage—it would be too childish, I suppose—but speaking is not considered dangerous.

*First Delegate (weakly):* That usher there (*pointing to a boy in the aisle*), has he been investigated too?



*Manager:* Oh, no. He's not under the Penal Code—he's under the child labor law.

(*Curtain rises. Enter Precocious Infant Marvel*)

*Precocious Infant Marvel* (*speaking—with apologies to Gilbert*):

So please you, sirs, I much regret  
If I now fail in etiquette  
To-wards a law of rank so high—  
I shall know better bye-and-bye.  
But youth, you know, must have its fling,  
So pardon me, so pardon me,  
And don't, in childhood's happy Spring,  
Be hard on me, be hard on me,  
If I'm designed to dance and sing.  
Tra-la-la, tra-la-la, tra-la-la.

*Chorus of Delegates:*

How fearfully are made the laws,  
So wonderfully full of flaws!  
Befuddled folks can never guess  
How legislators made the mess.  
Oh, one says this, and one says that.  
Another one denies it flat—  
Until we wonder which is what,  
And then insist, "If so, why not?"

—*Curtain*—

# "HOWLERS" IN CIVICS AND HISTORY

Robert I. Adriance of the East Orange (N. J.) High School contributes to the gaiety of *Outlook* readers, thus:

The following are some of the fruits I have gleaned from a good many years of teaching history and civics:

"The purpose of the political party is to bring together all men of a like mind and have their wills carried out." "The National Convention is opened with prayer by the Chairman of the National Committee." "The Greeks were not so viratic but they had firm minds." "Beaurocrazy." "A tax is an encumbrance levied directly or indirectly by the government for the betterment of the people."

"The New Jersey Constitution was enacted in Boston in 1620." "The Pension Bureau contains many rooms filled with both worthless and good pensions." "The Naturalization Act limits the life of a would-be citizen to 15 years in this country." "It was during Adams administration that the Federalist party received its form of evaporation." "The aligorical tail of Pilgrim's Progress." "The battle of Gettysburg was beautifully described by Lincoln in his Gettysburg address 4 score and seven years later." "Christianity lasted from the eighth century before Christ up to the twentieth century A. D. The best Reverence book for this would be the Bible."

The following on the "Naming of America" was particularly gratifying to me as it will be to all Dartmouth men: "After Columbus voyage a man by the name of Amerigo Vespucci sailed along the shores of America and a Dartmouth College Professor wrote up some article and called the new land America."

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#### FRACTIONS

"Since I have come in contact with social reformers and social workers," said the Rev. Samuel M. Crothers of Cambridge, before the General Conference of Unitarian Churches in Baltimore recently, "I have come to observe that one-third of their power and energy goes into work they are undertaking and the other two-thirds in keeping on good terms with their fellow reformers."—*Survey*.

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In the Issuing Office at Seattle. Child applying for work certificate being asked for proof of age:

"Have you a baptismal certificate?"

"I dunno whatcher mean."

"Have you ever been baptized?"

"Sure," pulling off coat and rolling up sleeve, "right here."

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At an Italian settlement in San Francisco. Nurse talking to mother:

"What do you give your baby?"

"Deluded milk."

"How do you dilute it?"

"Well, I molify it with sugar and water."



THE CHILD'S UNCONSCIOUS MIND. Wilfred Lay. Dodd, Mead, \$2.00.

The value of any application of psycho-analysis to education consists in the degree of scientific basis for the discussion. One does not know just where Dr. Lay's own research leaves off and his borrowings from Freud begin. Indeed one can not draw the line between his actual findings and the deductions he has made in the course of his study of the unconscious in children. In spite of this, his book is a good introduction to Freudian psychology, and as the subject is approached largely from the point of view of the child, it should be a valuable handbook for teachers.

The greatest problem that the schools face is that of interesting children. Children do not want to study. Why is it? One knows that they are not so stupid as they appear to be; one is very sure that they could complete the usual course of study in one-third or one-half the time it usually takes, and do so without loss of their other activities or to their physical development. Why are both the schools and the children unable to bring about this highly desirable result? Dr. Lay believes that with the greater understanding of the unconscious thoughts and impulses of childhood which is now being brought about, this happy consummation will be reached.

"The spirit is unwilling and the flesh is strong, is the unconscious attitude of the child toward school work, and he is not to blame for it. . . . We repress their unconscious wishes to do *real* things in the world, for there is no real thing done in school. . . . The student knows that every word he writes, every sum he does, every exercise he finishes has been done and repeatedly done by millions of other children. . . . I have found that the pupils are governed by an unconscious wish *not* to make a good showing in school, *not* to perform thoroughly and well the tasks set."

Dr. Lay's message is sane and in keeping with the most progressive educational analysis: he demands a more complete knowledge of the impulses that are hidden from the children themselves, which render at least a good part of the school instruction of to-day absolutely futile; he asks that we give the opportunity for every child to learn through experience in school with realities. "The state should take it upon itself," he says, "to see that the work of all teachers is as good as that of the 'born teacher.' This can not be done without a knowledge of the working of the unconscious part of the mind."

RUTH MCINTIRE.



HEALTH EDUCATION IN RURAL SCHOOLS. J. Mace Address, Ph.D. Houghton, Mifflin Company, \$1.60.

This book presents a new point of view for child health work. We find here the part which the teacher should take in the school health programme. Although the book was avowedly written for the rural teacher who has not expert assistants, the medical supervisor and director of physical education of a city school system will very probably find valuable suggestions to help him correlate his efforts with the other school activities and lead every teacher to share in a broad health programme.

Public health men generally recognize the need of education in accomplishing a health programme, but they often overlook the most promising channel for results in health. Dr. Address gives many suggestions for making health a vital concern of every school child. "Unless the children are led to think of hygiene as dealing with problems near at hand, they may get the idea that it does not especially concern them." He shows how health habits may be taught, how to link up the natural interests of the child with the subject of health, how to combine instruction with training, and through the character of the whole school programme how to foster a hygienic attitude of mind.

Numerous references to surveys and studies show the need of health education in the rural schools. Throughout the book many references are made to good literature upon health and sanitation, particularly that literature which may be secured free or at a nominal price. Class exercises are suggested at the end of each chapter which are practical and should be valuable for normal school use.

An original scheme for measuring the success of the teacher in results attained is proposed in the final chapter. Although experience must determine the practicability of such a rating there is to be found at any rate, many suggestions of the relative value of the various health activities of the school, and quite likely suggestions as to the value of their achievements.

HAROLD H. MITCHELL.

THE HUMAN MACHINE AND INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY. Frederic S. Lee. Longmans, Green Company, \$1.10.

Professor Lee has given us an excellent brief summary of present knowledge of fatigue as applied to industry, as well as a statement of the relation which physiological science should bear to industry. He says that "industrialism is not so far advanced in its evolution as is medicine." This statement is undoubtedly true so far as it relates to the use of science applied to the human factors of industry. The experimental method of studying the activities of the human body has gone a long ways in the field of medicine. On the other hand, industry has devoted its study to the efficiency of machinery, while the efficiency of the human beings in industry has been so neglected that it would appear as if the value of the human factor had been entirely overlooked. The war, however, brought forward the value of the human machine. Man power and human efficiency were actually given consideration. "In the United

States, the Public Health Service has been conducting, since July, 1917, an investigation of the conditions of labor in certain of the munition factories, for the purpose of discovering whether excessive fatigue is present, how it may be avoided, and how a continuous maximum production of war supplies may be secured. The work has been carried on with the active co-operation of the Divisional Committee on Industrial Fatigue under the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense." Professor Lee is the executive secretary of this committee.

In this little book Professor Lee has outlined the various ways by which industry may make use of experimental science for increasing the efficiency of the human factor in industry. He states the following fundamental conditions which should be fulfilled in order to secure this efficiency:

1. Workers should be qualified for the work that they are to do.
2. Workers should produce a daily output in accordance with their individual capacities for work.
3. Workers should maintain their working power from day to day and from week to week.
4. Workers, once they are proved competent, should be retained.

Under the first condition both physiological and psychological tests are discussed for valuating prospective workers.

Under the second condition we find fatigue discussed as it is indicated by an output curve which he shows to be not unlike the curve of output of a single isolated muscle contracting with artificial stimulation at regular intervals and lifting a given load. He also mentions physiological tests which have recently demonstrated that fatigue results from the day's work. He discusses the secondary sources of fatigue which may still further limit output and which involve such factors as the fatigue of standing, lost motion, the rhythm of the machine, illumination, ventilation, food and sanitary conditions.

The increased production and the maintenance of working power from day to day and from week to week involves many other human problems such as the length of the working day, resting periods, overtime, capacity and the self limitation of output, night work, the industrial efficiency of women compared with men, industrial medicine and welfare work, food, scientific management and the physiological organization of work. He discusses each of these problems in view of present knowledge and the need for further investigation.

The cost of the labor turn-over is emphasized and he shows its relation to physiological science. He says, "In general, I believe that whatever promotes individual efficiency, whatever enables the individual machine to work in accordance with physiological laws, whatever leads to more complete adaptation will lighten the burden of the labor turn-over." He shows how industrial accidents are increased with the increase of labor turn-over as well as by fatigue and the various secondary sources of fatigue.

The bibliography at the end of the book affords a large amount of suggestive reading in all phases of the human factor in industrial efficiency.

HAROLD H. MITCHELL.



THE TEACHER, THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY. Inez N. McFee. American Book Company, \$1.24.

Miss McFee's book is not a contribution to the philosophy of education; it is a technical manual for the unimaginative rural school teacher. Written entirely from a pedagogical point of view, it offers no suggestions as to the possibilities of co-operation between the school and parents or other agencies interested in rural life. Its only value will be to the teacher who needs must have pointed out step by step the path she must tread to restore a little life to the country school. The methods to be employed in teaching the commonly accepted subjects of the elementary school curriculum are explained in detail, even down to the precise questions to be asked. There is no tendency, however, to utilize our knowledge of child psychology nor to introduce modern objective theories of instruction. The teaching of nature study, for example, is commended, but the knowledge is to be imparted by the teacher in the classroom not secured first-hand through excursions into the woods and fields. Again, the importance of recreation is asserted, but the methods suggested are the old-fashioned Christmas party, the spelling match and the Friday afternoon recitation hour. There is no recognition of the need for developing the social instincts of the child through organized play. For physical training, various muscular exercises are recommended to insure correct breathing, standing, etc., but vain is the search for any mention of outdoor activity, school athletics, folk-dancing, games, etc. The most helpful of her suggestions are those for the development of the school as a social center, and the use of the school building by the community. On the whole, however, her book is based on the assumption that the rural school of the future will be fundamentally like the rural school as it has been and as it is, and that to perfect it we need only to polish up our present methods, not to rebuild entirely on new and modern conceptions. We can not but contrast this book with the real helpfulness of Evelyn Dewey's *New Schools for Old*.

GERTRUDE FOLKS.

A COMMUNITY CENTER: WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO ORGANIZE IT. Henry E. Jackson. Macmillan; \$1.00.

Whoever is interested in the problems of community organization and of organized community activity should read this book by the Special Agent in Community Organization, United States Bureau of Education. The volume contains, beside two chapters on subjects indicated by the sub-title, a chapter describing typical community centers in operation. The volume loses nothing by being brief. Much information and many suggestions are compressed into the 160 pages, but the material there found has not been squeezed dry.

"Centuries ago," says the author, "a great statesman and philosopher said that the key to any right solution of our social and economic problems is to be found by 'setting the child in the midst of them.' Jesus regarded the child as the model citizen in the Kingdom of God, which was his term for democracy. The child is still the most respectable citizen we have. The position of Jesus



on the place of the child has been shown by John Fiske to be abundantly supported by the biological history of the race. The prolonged infancy of the human baby is the factor which developed motherhood and all our altruistic sentiments. And it will be by keeping the child in the midst of our thought, by giving the child the right of way in our economics, by making the child's welfare the formative principle in our social and civic activities that we will transform these activities into community interests."

R. G. F.

PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION. Isaac Lippincott. Macmillan.

This volume by Dr. Lippincott of Washington University deals largely with economic as distinguished from social reconstruction, if reconstruction can be called its real subject. Business, commerce, finance, these are the main topics, and the volume treats them principally in connection with a history, analysis and discussion of war control. The first chapter deals with the "Need of Reconstruction"; the last is a sketchy, inconclusive "Plan for Reconstruction in the United States." As a careful study of war economics and of war control the book is exceedingly valuable. Its title is perhaps a bit misleading, though of course the war experience has lessons for reconstruction.

Labor has some mention in the concluding chapter (one earlier chapter is devoted to War Labor Control). The author takes up the subject, in discussing reconstruction, from the standpoint of business policy. "Another serious problem," he writes in enumerating the reconstruction problems, "confronts industrial managers. Not only will they have to investigate conditions affecting the future supply of labor, a matter which will bring them to some extent in contact with the demobilization policy of the Government—but they must study the future relations between employers and workmen. . . . Soldiering, labor turnover, lack of esprit de corps, and unrest are among the greatest causes of inefficiency in business. The most important of all management problems is to create a new attitude towards work which will encourage laborers to give their eager support to their managers. But this end can not be reached until some solution is found to the four evils named above. In the after-war period, when all the resources of the country should be devoted to the prompt and orderly re-establishment of business, it would be a serious handicap if disagreements were to arise."

R. G. F.

The following books to be reviewed in a later issue:

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE WORLD WAR. Professors Frederic Ogg and Charles A. Beard. Macmillan Company.

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. Elwood P. Cubberley. Houghton Mifflin Company.

SOCIAL GAMES AND GROUP DANCES. J. C. Elsom and Blanche M. Trilling. J. B. Lippincott Company.

TOWARDS RACIAL HEALTH. Norah H. Marsh. E. P. Dutton & Co.



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## EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

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Publication and distribution of the National Child Labor Committee's report on "Child Welfare in Kentucky" has led to increased interest in the subject in that state. The legislative committee of the Co-operative Council of Kentucky, a central body composed of representatives of social welfare agencies in the state, both public and private, has drawn upon the findings and recommendations of the Committee in formulating a legislative program. Several bills, embodying recommendations contained in the report, are now under consideration by the law makers of the Blue Grass State. The Committee's staff of specialists is now at work in Tennessee making a child welfare study under the direction of Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., assistant secretary of the Committee. It has been undertaken on the invitation of Governor Roberts, the five state departments of health, labor, schools, charities, and agriculture; the University of Tennessee, the Anti-Tuberculosis Association, the Associated Charities of several cities, and other agencies, and will embrace the subjects of health, schools, child labor, juvenile courts, institutions, rural life, recreation, and laws and administration—all closely interrelated subjects and interdependent in planning and providing adequately for the education and protection of children.

A second time the constitutionality of a federal child labor act is before the United States Supreme Court. The act of 1916, based on the interstate commerce power of Congress, was declared invalid in June, 1918. The present case is an appeal from a decision in the Western District of North Carolina, rendered May 2, 1919, holding unconstitutional and void such part of the Federal Revenue Act passed in February, 1919, as imposes or seeks to impose, a 10 per cent tax on the annual net profits of any mine, quarry, mill,

cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment, in which children, contrary to certain age and hour standards, shall have been employed or permitted to work at any time during the taxable year. The age standards are 16 for mines and quarries, 14 for factories and similar establishments. Hours are limited to eight a day for children between 14 and 16, the working week to six days, and night work is prohibited for children under 16. Upon the decision in the present case rest important issues respecting the accomplishment of child labor reform. An adverse decision would bring to the fore the question of a constitutional amendment that would permit adequate national action against the national evil of child labor—at least so far as concerns child labor in the mining and manufacturing industries.

In the whole United States one child in one factory may be legally employed for more than 8 hours a day. This privileged individual was granted his exemption from the  
**ONLY ONE** Federal Child Labor Tax Law by Judge James E.  
**CHILD EXEMPT** Boyd through an injunction preventing the employer of the child from discharging him or limiting his hours of work. To all interested in children, this will be a gratifying piece of news, for it had been generally thought that Judge Boyd's decision affected the employment of minors in the entire western judicial district of North Carolina. In a letter to the National Child Labor Committee, Miss Nila F. Allen, Head of the Child Labor Tax Division of the Treasury Department, says:

"Unlike the situation under the Federal Child Labor Law, declared unconstitutional June 3, 1918, the injunction secured in the case of the Federal Child Labor Tax Law applied only to the employment of one child in the Atherton Mills, Charlotte, North Carolina.

"The Child Labor Tax Law has been and is being enforced in all sections of the country, including the Western Judicial District of North Carolina."

It should be remembered that the Federal Child Labor Tax Law applies only to mines, quarries, factories and similar establishments. It is estimated that 85 per cent of the working children in this country are in industries not covered by the law.

Briefs recently submitted to the Court present the argument against and the argument for the constitutionality of the present statute. It is contended on the one hand

ARGUMENT

AGAINST

CONSTITUTIONALITY

that the child labor section of the Revenue Act is unconstitutional because it goes beyond the powers delegated to Congress by the United States Constitution and is,

therefore, in violation of the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, which reserves to the states respectively, or to the people, powers not delegated to the United States. It is asserted that the decision of the Court declaring the Act of 1916 unconstitutional applies forcefully and conclusively to this statute. The words of the Court in the former case are quoted: "Thus the Act in a two-fold sense is repugnant to the Constitution. It not only transcends the authority delegated to Congress over commerce, but also exerts a power as to a purely local matter to which the Federal authority does not extend." The brief of the appellees further sets forth that "the statute, though forming a part of what is otherwise a revenue law, is not a taxing statute, but is an attempt to regulate—in a field in which Congress has no regulating power"; that "this statute is unconstitutional and invalid because the classification is arbitrary and based on a condition outside and beyond the sphere of the tax levying power"; and that "a consideration of what would be involved in holding this statute valid enforces the conclusion that it is invalid." On the latter point the following is said: "The same penalty of heavy taxes can just as well be meted out to those who do not conform to Congressional ideas in the minimum wages they pay, in the employment or non-employment of colored as well as white labor, in the installation or non-installation of safety devices, as well as in the equal or unequal wages of female employees as compared with male employees, or in the recognition or non-recognition of the open shop or the closed shop. This is the elimination of the States as recognized by our Constitution, and the Congressional regulation of all the processes of production."

The briefs have been published by the Government, and a limited supply is available. The National Child Labor Committee has copies of this brief in its library and should it be impossible to obtain the document from the Superintendent of Documents it is suggested that members apply to us for any further details which they may wish.



Counsel for the Government declare that the opinion of the Supreme Court sustaining the oleomargarine tax forecloses every question arising in this case. "The statute assailed in the McCray case imposed an excise tax of one-fourth of a cent per pound on oleomargarine when not artificially colored and of ten cents per pound when artificially colored. The contention then, as now, was that, in so far as artificially colored oleomargarine was concerned, the act would not result in the raising of revenue because the tax was so onerous as to be practically a prohibition of that article, and hence it was a mere police regulation and an encroachment upon the reserved rights of the States. And the other proposition was advanced, as it is now, that the act was an arbitrary discrimination against oleomargarine in favor of butter and violative of those fundamental principles of equality and justice which are inherent in the Constitution of the United States. The Court considered these contentions with great care and overruled them all. In doing so, it put beyond further controversy the questions which must control in this case." The Government goes on to say, "The statute now in question imposes an excise tax which Congress had the power to levy, and its primary object must be assumed to be the raising of revenue, although it may operate practically to affect the employment of child labor in factories." Various decisions of the Supreme Court, elucidating the nature and extent of the federal taxing power, are quoted. The Court has repeatedly said that Congress may tax as it pleases, subject to limitations not applicable in this instance. The right of taxation, where it exists, is necessarily unlimited in its nature and carries with it inherently the power to embarrass and destroy. The Court, as the Court itself has said, can not inquire into the motives of Congress in levying taxes. The power of Congress, says the Government, to select from the subjects within its power of taxation, those upon which it will levy excise taxes is unlimited. The fact that the tax is levied upon the use of something which is subject to the police powers of the state is wholly unimportant. In this instance, the rights of the various states to regulate or prohibit in any manner they see proper the employment of child labor is not interfered with. No one denies the right of the states to regulate or destroy the use of child labor in factories. It can not be said, therefore,

that it is necessary to invoke any powers implied in the Constitution to save a right which no free government could destroy. When Congress has levied an excise tax to apply uniformly throughout the United States, the courts are without authority to inquire into the reasonableness of classifications made for the purpose of selecting subjects of taxation. In matters of taxation the responsibility is upon the legislature, not the judicial branch of government. No fear of an abuse by Congress will justify the execution by the courts of a power not conferred by the Constitution. The decision in the Child Labor Act of 1916 does not apply, as a majority of the Court was of opinion that the regulation imposed by Congress was not a regulation of interstate commerce merely because it regulated the manufacture of goods which might thereafter be subjects of interstate commerce. No such question arises in the present case. The right of Congress to tax the privilege of employing child labor depends in no way upon whether the product of that labor will or will not be transported in interstate commerce. There can be no pretense that Congress has done anything except to lay an excise tax on the privilege of using child labor in factories and mines. The tax is identical in principle with the oleomargarine tax and others.

The Fifteenth Annual Conference of the National Child Labor Committee will be held in New Orleans on April 14. Morning, afternoon and evening sessions are being arranged at which will be discussed recent developments in the field of child care and specific reports presented of work in Alabama, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri and other states. The newly established department of child welfare in Alabama is regarded by experts as representing the type of constructive supervision American commonwealths are likely to exercise in the near future. On the evening of April 14, Dr. Felix Adler, chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, will speak on "American Children: Sound in Body and Mind." This will be a joint meeting with the opening session of the Forty-seventh gathering of the National Conference of Social Work which convenes in New Orleans, April 14-21. At this opening session Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the

National Child Labor Committee will deliver the annual address as president of the National Conference of Social Work, and Randall J. Condon, Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio, will speak on "The Interrelation of Social and Child Welfare."

The opening session of the National Conference of Social Work will be in charge of the Children's Division. Other sessions during the week are arranged by the division of public agencies, mental hygiene, delinquency, organization of social forces, industrial and economic problems, family, local community, health, and the relation of the church to social work. The arrangement of the conference provides for five section meetings, every morning and afternoon of the week and general sessions each evening with the exception of Saturday evening, April 17, when the local committee will present to the Conference an elaborate pageant of the history of New Orleans. It is anticipated that a large delegation will attend from all over the country and the local New Orleans Committee advises those intending to attend to make hotel reservations at once. The secretary of the local committee is Harry J. Hopkins, American Red Cross, New Orleans.

### BREVITIES

The City of Indianapolis has adopted an ordinance regulating street trading within the area known as the mile square in that city. The ordinance prohibits boys under 11 years and girls under 16 years from engaging in any street work, and boys under 12 and girls under 16 years from engaging in street trading between the hours of 8 P.M. and 5 A.M. Boys under 16 years must secure a permit for street work. The ordinance, however, exempts children delivering papers or magazines to regular subscribers.

The program adopted by the Labor Party at its national convention in Chicago, November 25, 1919, demands "the abolition of employment of all children under 16 years of age, to be gradually increased to 18 years."

The value of last year's back-to-school drive can not be measured only in terms of the number of children who returned to school, but in terms, too, of the quality and extent of the care and instruc-



tion they are receiving there. Urging passage of a bill for increased teachers' salaries, New York teachers present these facts:

71,318 pupils in New York City are without teachers to instruct them, mostly in the elementary grades.

1,718 classes had to be dismissed one day because of a lack of teachers, this being the high water mark for the year.

1,000 substitute teachers are badly needed at the present time.

1,900 teachers have resigned during the last nine months to take positions which pay better in business houses and elsewhere.

In a letter to the National Child Labor Committee, one of its members, a teacher in a Brooklyn, New York, public school, writes: "I have been a member of your organization for many, many years. I am obliged to give up my membership this year because of financial reasons. I am a teacher in one of the highest positions in our city schools and can no longer meet my usual obligations. I have given up amusements, many personal comforts, educational needs, such as lectures and magazines, and this year I have had to give up my membership in six Welfare organizations. It is a great regret to me, and a great sacrifice."

The Board of Temperance and Moral Welfare of the Presbyterian Church, in its social program for the coming year, declares: "Child labor evils look to the church for solution and juvenile delinquency must be studied scientifically and prevented. The child is the greatest asset of the church and the nation and its social and domestic welfare are of vital importance."

Children ranging from 4 to 15 years of age are still doing homework in tenements. The annual report of the New York State Industrial Commission for 1918 gives the number of children found illegally employed in tenement homework in the state as 654. Of these 29 were not attending school, 205 were working before school hours, 131 were working during the noon hour, 212 were working between 3 and 6 P.M., and 64 between 6 and 8 P.M. Of the total

number of children found so employed in the state, 604 were in New York City. The record shows that these children were working on articles of clothing, embroidery, children's wear, and flowers and feathers.

Counsel to the New York State Industrial Commission reports that "the very large percentage of suspended sentences after convictions have been obtained is the most discouraging feature of our work." In New York City (year ending June 30, 1919) there were 396 convictions for violations of the child labor law in factories, and of these 249, or 62 per cent., resulted in suspended sentences; for the whole state the percentage was 70. Of 647 convictions for violations of this law in mercantile establishments in New York City, 466 sentences were suspended; eight out of every ten convictions in the state at large received suspended sentences. For the last six months of 1919 there were 79 persons convicted of violating the tenement house homework law—the 56 fines imposed totaled \$1,135, the remaining offenders received suspended sentences.

Statistics gathered in five "child labor states," according to the last annual report of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, showed that of 19,696 children to whom employment certificates were issued, 188 reported that they had never been at school at all, 1,615 had not gone beyond the 1st grade, and more than half were in or below the 4th grade when they left school. Only 2.7 per cent. had reached the 8th grade and 1.3 per cent. were in high school.

A survey made by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission shows that 42 per cent of the children of Milwaukee between 14 and 17 years of age are employed on child labor permits.

## The American Child

A Journal of Constructive Democracy

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# CHILDREN OF THE KENTUCKY COAL FIELDS

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MABEL BROWN ELLIS

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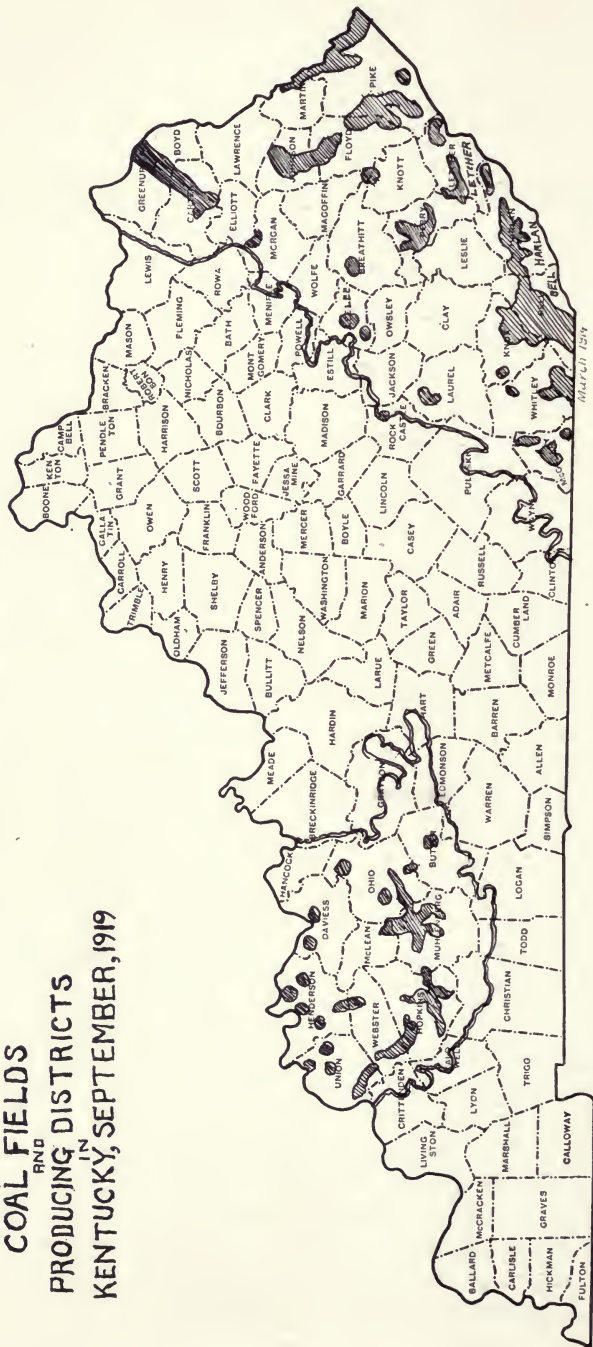
Kentucky is the only state in the Union which contains areas belonging to two great coal fields. Fourteen counties in the western part of the state are wholly or partially included in the Central Interior Coal Field which underlies Indiana and Illinois as well, and 34 eastern Kentucky counties belong to the great Appalachian Coal Field, the most important deposit of bituminous coal in the United States. Northward through West Virginia and Ohio, the Appalachian coal extends into Pennsylvania and southward through Tennessee into the hills of Alabama. At either extreme blaze the furnaces of Pittsburg and Birmingham. Between are hundreds of smaller industrial communities and thousands of acres of mineral lands which still lie undespoiled, awaiting the coming of the railroads.

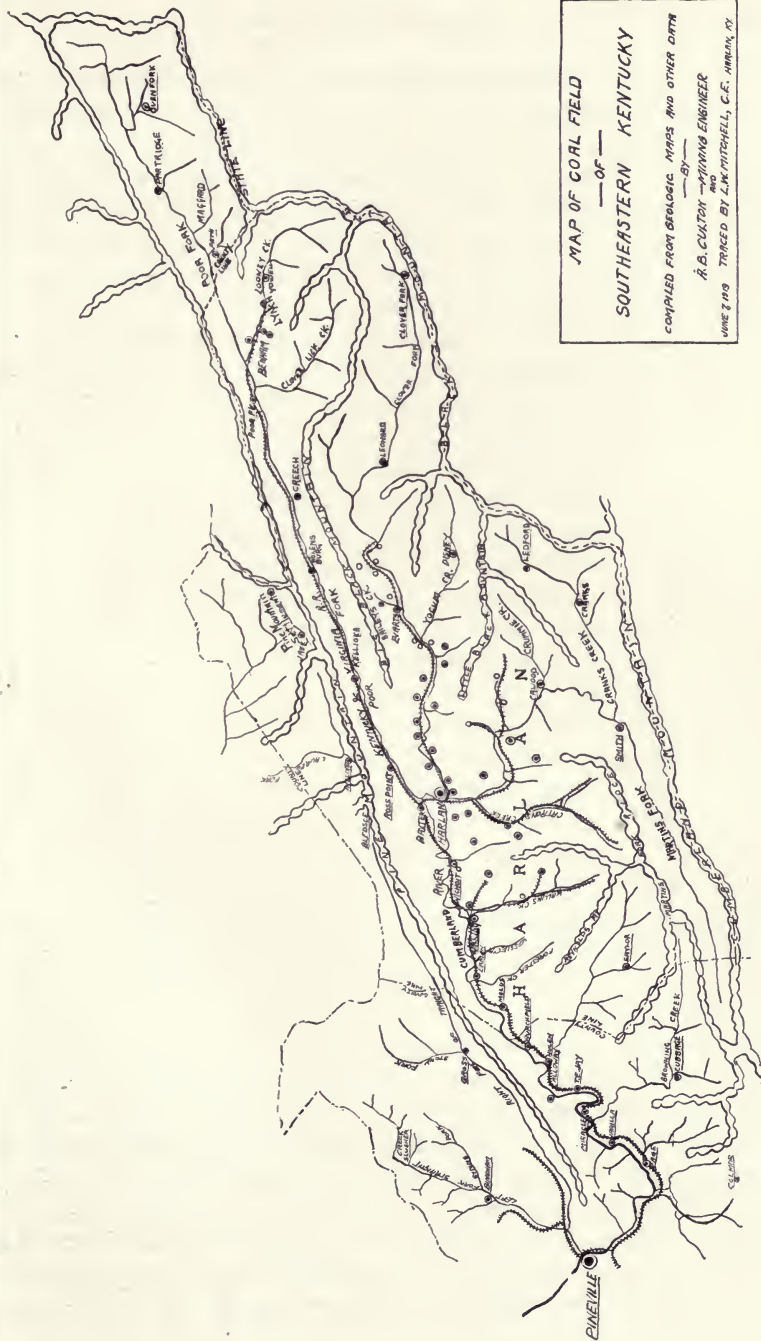
Of all these states, Kentucky has been the last to open her Appalachian coal lands for large-scale commercial production and a glance at the accompanying map will show how little of the field she has even now under development. Yet, according to the United States Geological Survey, Kentucky was probably third to enter the list of regular coal-producing states and the first Kentucky coal mined for shipment came from the Appalachian field.

In 1807, a traveller writing of the Kentucky River said, "Coals are brought down it nearly 300 miles and delivered in Frankfort at sixpence a bushel but wood being tolerably plentiful, they are used only in the penitentiary and by blacksmiths." In 1827, the shipment of five boat-loads of coal was reported from mines "on the right side of the Cumberland River below the mouth of the Laurel" to Nashville, Tennessee, and from 1825 to 1834 probably 25 to 35 boat-loads of about 66 tons each were sent out every year. In 1837, coal sold at the pits for two and one-half cents a ton; in Frankfort it cost 15 cents a ton, wholesale.

# KENTUCKY

## COAL FIELDS AND PRODUCING DISTRICTS IN KENTUCKY, SEPTEMBER, 1919





MAP OF COAL FIELD  
—OF—  
SOUTHEASTERN KENTUCKY

COMPILED FROM GEOLOGIC MAPS AND OTHER DATA

—BY—  
R. B. CUKTON —MINING ENGINEER

WINE 2 1109 TRACED BY L. MITCHELL, C. E. HARLAN, KY



The failure of the Appalachian section to hold this lead resulted from lack of adequate transportation facilities. The shipment of coal down either the Kentucky or Cumberland river was fraught with great difficulty and could be carried on only at certain seasons of the year when the water was high. A project of opening the Kentucky River for navigation in which both the state and the federal governments took a hand proved unsuccessful so far as any extensive transportation of coal was concerned.

Railroad construction through the mountains was extremely expensive and difficult. Beginning in 1854 with the charter of the Kentucky Union Railway, but interrupted by the Civil War, negligible progress was made until 1870-90. Since that time development has gone slowly, because large capital was not available in the state, because there were no natural resources in the hills to attract foreign capital except the coal which was not needed so long as other fields furnished an abundant supply and because the eastern mountain region was so sparsely settled that there was no great demand for the transportation of people or supplies. A fourth factor of importance in delaying development was the instability of land titles which made investors fearful of risking their money in the purchase of property. The Louisville and Atlantic Railroad, now a part of the Louisville and Nashville system, did not reach Irvine until 1891 or Beattyville until 1903. There was no railroad in Harlan County until 1910 and not until two years later was transportation available for the enormously valuable coal mines in Pike and Letcher Counties. Eventually extensions will connect the entire eastern coal field with lines leading to the Atlantic seaboard, but there are still counties to which the railroads have barely penetrated, and service is poor throughout the region.

Although its coal deposits were of inferior quality and not so extensive, the western Kentucky coal field was easily accessible both by river and railroad and consequently was much earlier developed on a commercial scale. Until 1912 it led the state in tonnage produced, but in 1915 the eastern field suddenly took the lead by 2,500,000 tons and within two years it furnished 65 per cent of Kentucky's output. The extension of the Big Sandy and Elkhorn branch of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad into Pike and Letcher Counties and of the Lexington and Eastern branch of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad into Harlan and Letcher

Counties resulted, according to the United States Geological Survey, "in the development in eastern Kentucky during 1910, 1911, and 1912 of probably more absolutely new coal territory than has been opened in the same time in all the rest of the United States."

Nineteen hundred and fourteen brought the war and with it such a speeding up of industry as the world has never seen. Coal was needed for munitions, for ships and trains and factories; and bituminous coal is "primarily the fuel of transportation and industry." In four years, the United States increased its production of bituminous coal by 28 per cent. In this increase Kentucky bore her full share. Between 1910 and 1918 she rose from eighth to fifth place in the list of coal producing states, doubling her tonnage and more than quadrupling the value of her product.

Spectacular contributions to this increase came from three counties in the eastern coal field: Pike, Letcher and Harlan. Typical of the others are the figures for Harlan County. In 1880, according to the federal census, the county had only "farmers' diggings" at which the total wages paid for the year amounted to \$45. In 1890, 785 tons of coal were produced for the local market. In 1910, the first out-spurs of the railroad reached Harlan County and 1,440 tons were shipped out. By 1918, when the tracks had been extended throughout the eastern half of the county, 3,201,733 tons were mined. The number of employees increased from 169 in 1911 to 4,123 in 1918.

Behind these figures lies a story of industrial transformation almost unbelievable. For few of the men and women and children who lived in the recesses of the eastern hills had progressed far in habits of thought or life since their ancestors followed the Wilderness Trail into Kentucky, a century and a half ago. Hemmed in by the mountains, theirs was more than the isolation of the country-bred; it was the isolation of the pioneer of colonial days, prolonged and intensified by being handed down from generation to generation. It was a primitive society of self-sufficing households, upon which twentieth century industrialism descended, over-night, with the coming of the railroads.

What has been the result to these people whom many of us learned to know and love as we followed with them "The Trail of the Lonesome Pine" or talked with "The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come"? Will the development of Kentucky's mineral resources

mean the wholesome development of her human resources as well? What is happening to the children?

If Kentucky wishes her mountains to produce citizens of the commonwealth, as well as laborers in the coal mines, she must give thought to these questions, for there is now grave danger, in certain sections of the state, that all sense of human values may be swept aside by the down-rush of coal to the freight cars.

### SCOPE OF STUDY

This report is an attempt to show what is happening to the children in a region typical of the entire eastern coal field. Harlan County was chosen for the study because it illustrated the two most important types of coal mining operation in every stage of development. At the far northern end of the county, the greatest corporation in the world was creating a city over night—blasting its streets into the side of the mountain, moving a river from side to side of the valley, erecting a metropolitan hotel, where stood a log cabin barely two years ago, bending every resource of large capital and the trained intelligence which money can buy, to the making of a modern town. So far as the workmen were concerned, Lynch did not differ greatly from other industrial communities of the United States Steel Corporation. Two transportation trains a week brought in the men from the four quarters of the globe, Mexicans, Poles, Hungarians and Russians, some Italians, many negroes, and a few native born Americans of mountain stock.

In this respect Lynch differed widely from Benham, its neighbor, down the Fork, where the International Harvester Company has for eight years, through its subsidiary, the Wisconsin Steel Company, employed largely native-born labor, white and negro. Benham represents a corporation town which is completed—not in the sense that it will do no more growing, but in the sense that its public utilities are provided for, its schools are established and its health policies are not only determined, but are in actual operation. Child welfare in the northern end of Harlan County, then, is a question of corporation policy: in the making at Lynch; well-established at Benham.

In the central and southern part of the county, however, the small independent companies still dominated the field. Although



loosely united for business purposes as members of the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association, there was no evidence of any effort on their part to work out a uniform or a co-operative policy along the lines of social welfare, or indeed, any general recognition of the existence of a situation which warranted such a course. The miners were almost exclusively native-born whites from the mountains of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia, with a few negroes here and there. The child welfare problem of the small mining camps of



HARLAN COUNTY BOYS.

Harlan County is the old problem of the Kentucky mountaineer, complicated by such difficulties as always accompany any new industrial development at a distance from an established town. Standards of living in the group from which the great majority of these miners come are not high enough to have taught them what their rights are, and both workmen and managers must realize the importance of those rights of which the children are in many cases being deprived, before they can be expected to take much interest in securing them. Here the state has a definite responsibility which so far it has largely failed to assume.

In May, 1919, according to the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association, there were 33 mining operations in Harlan County. Five of these were new operations. Of the remaining 28, sixteen chosen at random from representative sections of the county were visited by the agents of the National Child Labor Committee, seven of whom spent from two to three weeks in the field studying child welfare conditions with particular attention to health, education, child labor, recreation, dependency and delinquency. A special investigation of food budgets was made in three camps. The findings are based upon interviews with miners and their families, mine superintendents, physicians, nurses, storekeepers and other company employees; teachers, health officers, county judges, and other public officials; and upon personal inspection of houses, school buildings, mines, places of amusement and stores, supplemented by consultation of official records and other literature and by much correspondence with persons familiar with the situation.

The time spent in the field was too short to permit the gathering of conclusive data. We have endeavored however, to present a truthful picture of conditions as we found them and to point out the need for more extensive research in certain special fields. Some conditions were so bad that no research was necessary to establish the need for action. He who ran might read. It is true that conditions change rapidly in communities of this sort and certain details found true today may not be true tomorrow, but the broad general outlines of the picture remain accurate for they follow a pattern which can be traced not only during the period of development, but in the present state of many older mining towns of Virginia, West Virginia and Tennessee.

The manuscript has been submitted in advance of publication to the following persons who have permitted us to profit by their expert criticism: Miss Katherine Pettitt and Mrs. Ethel DeLong Zande, of the Pine Mountain Settlement School, Dr. Arthur T. McCormick, of the Kentucky State Board of Health, Mrs. John C. Campbell, of the Russell Sage Foundation, Mr. M. R. Campbell, of the United States Geological Survey, Mr. Van A. Bittner, statistician of the United Mine Workers of America, Mr. Arthur H. Young, manager of the Industrial Relations Department of the International Harvester Company, Mr. C. L. Close, manager of the Bureau of Safety, Sanitation and Welfare of the United States

Steel Corporation, Miss Florence Nesbitt, Institute Instructor, American Red Cross and Professor H. S. Sherman, professor of dietetics, of Columbia University. To them and to the many others who have given generously of their time and interest, we extend our sincere appreciation.

Acknowledgment should also be made of our indebtedness for many of the facts used in the section on The Old Harlan County to two volumes by Miss Mary Verhoeff of Louisville, "The Kentucky Mountains," and "Kentucky River Navigation," which form a part of her series on *The Economic Development of a Coal Field*.

The field work was done by the following agents of the National Child Labor Committee: Mrs. L. B. Bush, Child Labor; Charles E. Gibbons, Agriculture; Raymond G. Fuller, Recreation; Dr. H. H. Mitchell, Health; W. H. Swift, Laws and Administration; Mabel Brown Ellis, Juvenile Courts. The section on Food Budgets is the work of Mrs. Helen McKee Brenton, formerly executive secretary of the Chicago Day Nursery Association.

#### HARLAN COUNTY—TOPOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES

Harlan County is located in the extreme southeastern corner of Kentucky on the Virginia border. It is about 40 miles long and 20 miles wide and has an area of 478 square miles. From southwest to northeast through the entire length of the county and quite cutting off the western third from the rest, runs the unbroken and almost impassable ridge of Pine Mountain. The Cumberland Mountains form the eastern and southern boundary of the county and between them and Pine Mountain rise wave after wave of hills with broken and irregular crests which lift themselves in places to an elevation of 3,500 feet above sea level. The Big Black and Little Black Mountains cut through diagonally, numbering among their peaks the highest point in the state of Kentucky.

The drainage of the eastern end of the county is entirely into the Cumberland River either through Poor Fork, Clover Fork and Martins Fork which unite at Harlan to form the Cumberland River, or through the smaller tributaries of the Cumberland, of which Wallins, Puckett, Yellow and Clear creeks are the principal ones below the forks. One branch of the Kentucky River rises in the grounds of the Pine Mountain Settlement School at the





OXEN AND SLED READY FOR HEAVY HAULING OVER MOUNTAIN ROADS.

junction of Greasy Creek with Isaacs Run and drainage of the western section of the county is through the Kentucky. The main streams have developed some bottom lands, but the smaller tributaries generally flow in narrow valleys with steeply sloping sides, often known as the "cliff and gorge" type.

The climate is mild, the mean annual temperature being 56 degrees. The thermometer rarely falls below zero and never remains below for 24 hours except at long intervals. The summers are warm with short periods of intense heat. Open air work is possible the year round.

The average annual precipitation in the Cumberland basin is from 50 to 60 inches; something more than half of this rain falls between April and September. Since the storage capacity in the region is slight and there are no glacial lakes to act as reservoirs, the water runs off quickly and the supply is irregular and uncertain. During the summer the rainfall is not sufficient to offset the loss by evaporation. During the winter, on the other hand, springs are abundant, the dry stream beds are often filled with rushing torrents and roads are impassable.

The first definite study of the soil and mineral deposits of Har-

lan County was made during the first geological survey of the State of Kentucky which was begun in 1854 under the direction of Dr. David Dale Owen. Joseph Leslie who surveyed the eastern coal field of which Harlan County is a part, reported that the soil, although not equal to the blue grass, was "fair and susceptible of successful cultivation" and estimated that there was enough of the richer soil to "supply the demands which would follow the development of the mines."

There were then throughout the county, great bodies of virgin timber; chestnut, oak, poplar, yellow and white pine, red cedar, cherry and black walnut.

Large quantities of coal were found which tested high and it was Dr. Owen's prediction that when the coal fields of the state were properly developed, they would surpass in value the mines of Great Britain to which, he said, "Great Britain owes more than to any other cause her present greatness."



BAD ROADS ARE AN OBSTACLE TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

An example from Eastern Kentucky.

Some iron ore was found accompanying the coal, but this has proved to be of small commercial value. All succeeding surveys, however, have confirmed and strengthened the early findings as to the quality and quantity of the coal and later surveys have delimited certain well-defined fields within the Appalachian field. Harlan and Bell Counties in Kentucky, and Claiborne and Campbell counties in Tennessee form what is now known as the Cumberland Gap Coal Field which extends in a general northeast-southwest direction between Pine Mountain and the Cumberlands, from the Fork Mountains on the southwest to the heads of Poor and Clover Fork on the north. The coals of this field belong to the Pottsville group of the Alleghany formation. They are mostly high grade gas or coking coals with some cannel. In Harlan County the formation is "about 5,000 feet thick and carries nearly 50 coal beds of which a dozen or more are locally of workable thickness and quality." In 1877, the state surveyors reported that the coal measures in the region between Pine Mountain and the Cumberlands "were over twice as great a thickness as those known anywhere else in the state." In 1906, tests made by the United States Geological Survey established the fact that "in percentage of moisture, ash and sulphur the coals of the Cumberland Gap field showed a purity equal to probably the best of the Appalachian coals." All reports emphasize the quality and thickness of that bed known as the "Harlan Coal" which averages a thickness of 4 feet over an area of 100 square miles. Directly about Harlan Town twelve or more beds of workable thickness are known to exist. The beds lie flat in the middle of the synclinal trough east of Pine Mountains and are easily entered by drift mining.

Yet from 1854 to 1910, these valuable deposits lay practically untouched, although they showed, black and shining, in every mountain stream bed and outcropped on nearly every farm.

To understand why development was so long delayed, and rightly to evaluate the magnitude of the transformation which came to child life in Harlan County along with the opening of the mines, it is necessary to look for a moment at the Old Harlan County.

### THE OLD HARLAN COUNTY

Harlan County was created by Act of the Kentucky Legislature in 1819, from the tract of land known as Lincoln County. Origin-



ally it was much larger than at present, including all of what is now Bell County and part of Leslie. It was named in honor of Major Silas Harlan, a gallant young Virginian who commanded a company of scouts in the Indian campaigns of 1779 under George Rogers Clark, and was killed in the battle of The Blue Licks. The first settlement was made by Samuel Howard, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, on the spot where Harlan Town now stands. The early settlers came largely from Virginia, and were of Scotch-Irish and English descent; among them were the Smiths, the Howards,



AN ANCIENT CABIN.

Until the present generation a large percentage of the poorer people of the Kentucky Mountains lived in log houses of this kind, or worse.

the Creeches, the Lewises and the Skidmores, whose descendants are still prominent in Harlan County affairs.

Although just north of the Wilderness Road along which the great migration to Kentucky took place during the decade from 1790 to 1800, Harlan County was difficult of access and offered few advantages to the farmer in comparison with the fertile fields of the Blue Grass. Hence it grew slowly. The census of 1820 listed 1,961 inhabitants and in the next 50 years the population had little more than doubled, being 4,415 in 1870. The figures for the next two census years show gains of less than 1,000 during

each decade, but between 1890 and 1900 there came an increase of 58.8 per cent due to the development of the lumbering interests and to the approach of the railroad. The period 1900 to 1910, however, saw a gain of only 7.4 per cent and left Harlan County at the time of the last federal census with fewer inhabitants to the square mile than any other county in Kentucky. Its density of population was 22.1, while the average for the state was 57 and for the United States as a whole, 30.9. The number of houses and the number of families were almost identical.

Nowhere in the county was there a town of any size. Writing in 1882 of the county seat, under its old name, Mt. Pleasant, Lewis Collins, the Kentucky historian, says quaintly: "Mt. Pleasant is the county seat and only town. It contains a court house and four lawyers, five stores, a grist and saw mill and four mechanic shops. The population is about 50. Elsewhere in the county," he adds, "are one lawyer, one doctor, three stores, two saw mills and seven grist mills." By 1910, as Harlan Town, Mt. Pleasant numbered 657 souls.

Like most of eastern Kentucky, backward in industrial development and without facilities for transportation, the Old Harlan County was practically untouched by immigration. The census of 1910 found only 10 foreign-born males of voting age in the entire county and the foreign-born group formed less than one-tenth of one percent of the population. The native white of native parents made up 94.4 per cent and the negroes 5.3 per cent.

Slaves were held in Harlan County prior to the Civil War, but never in large numbers, since the topography of the county made large scale agriculture impossible, and few mountain farmers had capital enough to purchase negro labor. Since the war, the "rigorous conditions of life and lack of opportunity for employment at domestic service" have, according to Miss Verhoeff, "made the region unattractive to colored people."

The result has been one of the most homogeneous populations to be found in the United States. Their racial and geographical isolation have aided in the preservation of the customs and traditions of that seventeenth century England from which their ancestors came to the new world. In the Old Harlan County the rule of the road was "Turn to the left," as it still is in England; the old English method of measuring timber was followed; many words of Shakes-

pearean flavor were in common use; in 1878, Shaler of the Geological Survey, reports that he saw men using the cross-bow in the chase. The old English ballads are still the delightful heritage of little children who sit, entranced, to hear them sung before the blazing backlogs on the mountain hearths; and the Pine Mountain Settlement School reports that the Running Set, one of the gayest and liveliest dances of the young people, has just been pronounced by no less an authority than Mr. Cecil Sharp, head of the English Folk Dance Society, "a most interesting form of the



MOUNTAIN CABIN WITH ITS "PERPENDICULAR CORN-FIELD"

English country dance . . . not hitherto recorded . . . and of great aesthetic value." Most beautiful of all survivals, the tradition of "Old Christmas" was still cherished—"Old Christmas," January 6th, when at midnight the elder blossoms and the oxen kneel in their stalls to commemorate Christ's birth.

But the same mountains which guarded much that was beautiful shut in also much that was not good. Transportation and means of communication were poor. In 1906, the state surveyor found bridges almost entirely lacking and roads so poorly adapted





THE POST RIDER WITH HIS SACKS OF MAIL BROUGHT ON HORSEBACK FROM YON SIDE PINE MOUNTAIN.

for hauling produce or merchandise that almost everything was carried in bags slung across the backs of horses and mules. There were no telephones and no telegraph wires. The mail carrier rode his route and when the creeks were high, he might be unable to make his rounds for weeks at a time. Thanks to Kentucky's method, or lack of method, of conducting land surveys when the state was opened for settlement, there were many overlapping boundaries, and quarrels arising over land, helped along by a liberal indulgence in moonshine whiskey, led to the bloody feuds which culminated in the Turner-Howard "war."

But more serious far than the feuds in their effects upon the children were the bad health conditions and the poor schools which characterized not Harlan County alone, but the entire mountain region.

In 1913, the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission carried on a hookworm campaign in Harlan County. Out of a population of 10,566, 4,957 persons were examined and 2,096 or 42.3 per cent were found infected. Of 278 homes inspected, 261 had no privies of any sort; 16 had the open back privy and one had a pit privy. This inspection did not include Harlan Town.

The United States Public Health Service in 1915 examined 816

school children in 13 schools in Harlan County and found 19, or 2.3 per cent, suffering from trachoma. "Many children," said the surveyor, "are kept from school on account of the disease."

In 1910, thirty-four feeble-minded persons in the county were drawing allowances from the state, under the provisions of the Pauper Idiot Act. Mountain folk have a horror of institutions and rarely is a feeble-minded child sent away from home for care, although it may be impossible for his family to give him proper protection. Failure to segregate feeble-minded girls almost inevitably means the birth of more defective children.



READY FOR THE HOOKWORM CLINIC AT A MOUNTAIN SCHOOL HOUSE.

Even families in which no definite defect or infection existed lived most of the time under conditions which tended to impair their vitality. "Endurance and muscular strength are common," says Miss Verhoeff, "but a strong constitution is exceptional. Bad housing and sanitation, ill-cooked and insufficient food, exposure to weather and other evils incident to poverty, have had their detrimental effects, which have been augmented by a close inter-marriage of families and by an inordinate use of liquor." Kephart\* mentions the constant exposure which produced rheumatism and

\* *Our Southern Highlanders*, by Horace Kephart.

the bad food which produced indigestion, but says that the mountaineer is saved by his love of pure water and fresh air. The Children's Bureau study of a mountain county in North Carolina, similar in many ways to Harlan County, noted the overcrowding and poor light and heat in most mountain homes; the lack of sanitary toilet arrangements; the early marriages, with high infant and maternal mortality; the lack of pre-natal care and of adequate care during confinement; and the great need for medical inspection of school children.

The Old Harlan County had few physicians and no trained nurses. Physicians in the county were then members of the Kentucky State Medical Association. There was no hospital within 50 miles.

Schools were few and poorly taught and were in session rarely more than four months a year. In 1910, according to the federal census, only 68.2 per cent of the children between 6 and 14 were in school and of the children 15 to 20 years of age, only 38 per cent. Illiteracy was high. Over one-fourth of the white voters and nearly two-thirds of the negroes could neither read nor write, and among the total population over 10 years of age 31.3 per cent were classed as illiterate.

Yet the Pine Mountain Settlement School, Berea College, and all the institutions of higher learning set down among the hills have stories by the hundred descriptive of the longing for "book larning" which brings the mountain boys and girls many miles on foot to earn their way through school. A mountain mother, asked if she made her children go to school, replied, "Lord, they hain't to make! They cry to go!"

Youth itself had views upon education. A delightful story is told of one little boy 7 years old, who was encountered by the side of a mountain spring. He had a fine head, splendid eyes and a great deal of intelligence in his face, but he said that he was a bad little boy and "cussed like hell." While his auditors were trying to recover from their surprise at the exhibition of his ability, which he promptly vouchsafed them, he said, "But I wouldn't cuss like that if I had a school to go to; thar hain't one nearer than four miles, and I don't git to go to hit."

It might be claimed with some justice that what the children missed in academic instruction they gained by actual contact with



industry in the handicraft stage. In the mountain home the father was blacksmith, cobbler and frequently miller; the mother busied herself at loom and wheel. The household was practically self-sufficing.

In Dr. Daniel Drake's reminiscences, he paints a vivid picture of the activities of a small boy in pioneer days, which might be accepted almost without modification as true of the small boy in Old Harlan. "I was provided with a small ax," he says, "to hack down saplings and cut off the limbs of trees and pile them into brush-heaps. . . . Before I was 12, I could do nothing about fencing but haul the rails—placing the log-chain round the ends of six or eight and driving the horse to the place where they were wanted. Too small to lay them up, I undertook to lay the "worm," that is, the ground rail. When I was 14, I could cut and split 75 rails a day. To prepare the raw field for cultivation required only the ax and mattock; but the cultivation itself called for the plow and hoe. In rooty soils it was often difficult to hold the plow and guide the horse; it was the employment of small boys therefore, to ride and guide the animal. To sit bareback on a lean and lazy horse, under a broiling sun and every now and then to have the plow suddenly brought to a halt by running under a root and the top of the long hames to give you a hard punch in the pit of the stomach, is no laughing matter." So he followed the year around, dropping the seed; sling shot in hand, guarding the young ears from crows and squirrels; garnering and husking the corn; shelling it, "the work of nights, or rainy days," when "a sheet was laid on the floor and all the children old enough to hold an ear were set to work;" pounding it into meal in the hominy block or grinding it in the hand-mill; baking the Johnny cake on a clean ash board set on the hearth before a buckeye backlog and a hickory forestick.



FOLK DANCING AT THE PINE MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT SCHOOL.

"Killing time" in December was followed by the labors of trying out the fat, chopping the sausage meat, stripping and twisting it into links, and hanging it on poles in the smoke house.

Clothing manufacture meant shearing the sheep, weighing the wool, picking, carding, double twisting it, reeling it into skeins and finally winding it into balls. Small boys did not often help with

the spinning as their sisters did, but they were sent to the woods in search of the black walnuts and oak bark with which their mothers dyed the wool.

Odd moments were filled by broom-making from hickory saplings, in which "when I was 12 years old, I was decidedly dexterous," by the manufacture of cheese and charcoal, and by such familiar domestic occupations as splitting wood and bringing water from the spring.

Logs for the cabin wall were hewn by hand and put in place by a community log raising.

The furniture was largely of home manufacture, split bottom chairs of hickory, cherry wood bedsteads with corn husk mattresses or feather beds. The big kettle for soap-making stood in every dooryard. Often pine knots or hogs' grease in a saucer with a rag for a wick were used for lights. Kitchen utensils were frequently limited to a frying pan, an iron pot, a bucket, a coffee pot and gourds of various sizes and shapes. Picturesque in the extreme they were, these one-room mountain homes, with their big stone chimney at one end, a turkey wing to sweep the hearth stone clean and a blazing fire of logs upon which all the cooking was done; beds gay with homespun coverlets and fresh with hand woven linen; walls hung with strings of dried apples and pumpkins, bunches of fragrant brown-grey herbs, bright red peppers, twists of tawny tobacco, yellow gourds full of seeds. More pretentious homes would have a lean-to in the rear where the cook-



A HOUSEWIFE OF OLD HARLAN COUNTY.

Note the handwoven baskets on the porch.

ing was done and a loft above or extra bed rooms, but there were of course, no modern conveniences in the way of light or heat or sanitary plumbing in any home. The result was hard work for everyone, particularly for the women and children.

Nor were the labors in the field less arduous than those in the house. The tracts of rich bottom lands along the borders of the mountain streams were comparatively small in area. They were supplemented by little clearings in the hill-sides where the slope was often so steep as to justify the phrase "perpendicular corn fields." Few farmers used horses or mules for farm work, believing oxen better adapted for the heavy hauling over poor roads and finding sleds better than wagons for the same reason. Modern farm machinery could not have been handled to advantage under such conditions even had there been a railroad to bring it in or money to pay for it. Scythes, cradles, flails, wooden harrows with locust-wood teeth, were in common use. Sometimes the bull-tongue plow was used and sometimes the ground was simply "drug" with a big green bough. All cultivating was done with a hoe, women and children working in the fields with the men. Since the soil was tilled without the rotation of crops or use of fertilizers, it was usually necessary to let land lie fallow every third year.

All the crops found in Kentucky were produced on the mountain farms, but according to Miss Verhoeff, "the average return per acre is about half that of the state as a whole." Corn was every-

where throughout the mountains, as it is still, the most important crop, depended upon to furnish food for man and beast in the form of corn-meal and fodder. Oats, rye, a little wheat and buckwheat were also grown. Every cabin had its tiny patch of tobacco for home consumption only and its vegetable garden in which beans, potatoes and cabbage were the staple crops. Orchards



AUNT LEAH WHO PLAYS THE DULCIMER AND SINGS OLD ENGLISH BALLADS.





A ONE-ROOM MOUNTAIN HOME. NOTE THE BEE-GUMS BEYOND THE FENCE.

were not frequently found, although apples, pears and peaches thrive in Harlan County and apples wherever grown, were popular articles of diet, sun-dried or made into cider and vinegar. Huckleberries, blackberries and other small fruits grew wild. Sorghum was raised for the molasses or "long sweetening;" flax and hemp were generally grown.

Stock was turned loose to roam at large over the hills to the great detriment of the young forest growth and to the gradual deterioration of the breed. Little attention was paid cattle except for an occasional salting down or a round-up of calves. "The backwoodsman," says Kephart, "does not want 'critters that hafter be gentled and hand-fed.'" A few sheep were raised for their wool, but the main dependence of the mountain farmer were his razor-back hogs. Chickens were kept for home consumption, but turkeys were raised for the eastern markets and driven over the moun-

tains in great flocks to the railroad, while goose feathers have been shipped away from early times.

Some Harlan County products are vanishing as the forest is cut away; such are wild honey and beeswax, furs and skins, roots and herbs. Traffic in ginseng was once so well established that the root served as a medium of exchange. A skilled "sang-digger" could make \$2 a day. Michaud, a French traveler, who visited Kentucky in 1802 says that ginseng was then worth 10 cents a pound dried; after preparation, it brought \$6 to \$7 a pound from Philadelphia merchants; and they resold it to Canton, China, at prices ranging from \$50 to \$100 a pound according to quality. One of Harlan's early representatives in the state legislature was always known as the "Harlan County Sanger."

Such avocations as "sanging" or gathering medicinal roots were frequently resorted to as one means of supplementing the family income. As civilization came nearer to Harlan County, it became not uncommon for men to cross the mountain and go to "public works" during the winter months when they were not busy on the farm, thus earning a few dollars in cash by working on the railroad or at some lumbering camp. Many spent the winter getting out logs from their own timber lands.

The growth of lumbering in Harlan County forms the second chapter in its industrial development. The county is located in the Appalachian hardwood region and in 1910, according to a special report on forest conditions in Kentucky, made by the United States Forestry Service in co-operation with the Kentucky State Board of Agriculture, Forestry and Immigration, it was the best timbered county in the state. Eighty-five per cent of its area was then covered by forest with an average stand of 6,000 feet per acre. There was still good poplar at the head of the smaller streams; the white oak was practically untouched; chestnut oak, black oak, beech, sugar maple and cucumber trees formed the chief part of the remaining stand, but the magnificent black walnut trees which the Geological Survey reported in 1877 to be the "finest growth of old forest timber" the surveyor had ever seen, were gone and even their stumps had been dug up and floated down the Cumberland to the saw mills.

There were in 1910 few saw mills in Harlan County and no stove, bark or railroad-tie operations, except on a small area near

the Virginia line, from which the more valuable products were hauled across the Cumberland Mountains to the railroad. The tributaries of the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers were too rough and the falls too rapid for rafting and stave timber was little cut because of the risk of loss in floating it down, but many thousands of rough logs, 20,965,000 feet of them in 1909, were carried out by the stream.

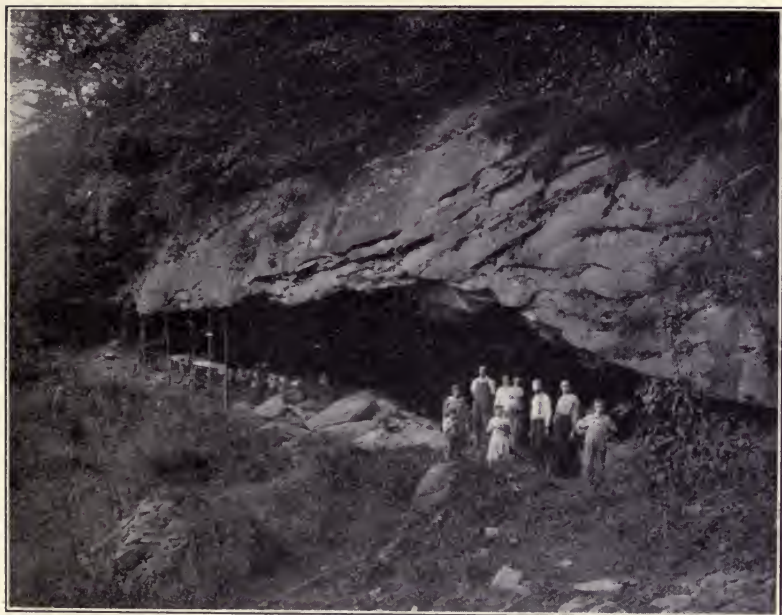
The boys of Harlan County grew up with an instinctive knowledge of woodcraft. From childhood they went with their fathers to the woods and early learned to pick out at a glance "trees with a diameter limit below the standard, tell to the fraction of an inch the size a tie should be hewn and select an oak tree that will rive straight and true into stave billets."

Harlan County timber and coal land 20 to 50 miles from a railroad was in 1910 assessed at \$5 to \$10 an acre. Nearly two-thirds of the total area of the county was then owned or controlled by large corporations most of whom were primarily interested in the development of the coal mines and were holding the timber for use in the mines. Having bought the land at a low price from the original owners, it was customary to let them occupy their former freeholds on lease, but to condition these leases upon an agreement



NATIVE MOUNTAIN CABINS AND SAW MILL SHANTIES.





UNION CLIFF, LYNCH.

TWO FAMILIES WERE FOUND LIVING IN THE CAVE UNDER THIS CLIFF IN SEPTEMBER, 1917.

to cut no more trees except on order from the company. This meant that no more land could be cleared for agriculture, and as the farmers of Old Harlan County knew nothing of commercial fertilization, the soil of the tenant farms has grown steadily more impoverished and the renters have been more and more forced to supplement their income by day-labor for the mines which have dispossessed them.

While the development of the coal mines in Harlan County belongs properly to the story of the New Harlan, a certain amount of rather primitive mining had been carried on from early days. A "farmer's-digging" or a "wagon-mine" was exactly what its name indicates,—an outcropping of coal on a farm whose owner from time to time dug out what he needed for his own use and perhaps a little for the neighbors. Such a mine might produce all the way from 5 to 75 tons a year. The coal in this region is soft and can readily be removed with a pick; most of it is near the surface, above drainage and easily reached. Excavation was rarely carried more

than 40 or 50 feet beyond the outcrop; the mine would be worked until a fall of the roof was imminent; then would be abandoned.

Such were the industries and such the life in Harlan County prior to 1910. Even today in remote coves on the western side of Pine Mountain, conditions similar to those we have tried to picture still exist, but with the completion of the road from Harlan to the Settlement, they are doomed to pass away. It was no easy life for children. There was no doctor to help them into the world; no nurse to guard their infancy; little protection from disease; much hard work, little play, and little chance for an education. Yet it was a life full of constructive activity, stimulating invention and developing resourcefulness and those who survived its rigors have often demonstrated keen intellectual ability.

The transition from a mountain farm to a mining camp has taken away, at one stroke, from women and children, all the familiar activities of field and forest, and has greatly reduced the labors of the household. It has left them, bewildered, idle, uprooted from the past and unable to take root in the present, face to face with an industrial transformation which looms large, even in these days of munition towns and shipyard cities.

### THE NEW HARLAN COUNTY

The story of that transformation is clearly written in the figures which give the increase from year to year, in the number of tons of coal taken from Harlan County mines.

TABLE No. 1

TONS OF COAL MINED IN HARLAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY, 1910 TO 1918.

Figures from United States Geological Survey.

Year	Tons of Coal Mined	Increase or Decrease
1910.....	1,440	.....
1911.....	17,860	16,420
1912.....	332,392	314,532
1913.....	750,267	417,875
1914.....	1,264,066	513,799
1915.....	1,726,798	462,732
1916.....	2,214,228	487,430
1917.....	2,167,741	-36,487
1918.....	3,201,733	1,033,992

The production of coal does not increase from 1,000 to 3,000,000 tons without a corresponding increase in the number of men employed at the mines. In 1918 there were almost half as many men working in the mines of Harlan County as there had been men, women and children in the entire county in 1910.

TABLE No. 2

NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES  
IN COAL MINES OF HARLAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY, 1910 TO 1918

Figures from United States Geological Survey.

Year	No. of Employees
1910.....	Not available
1911.....	169
1912.....	483
1913.....	1,014
1914.....	1,461
1915.....	1,496
1916.....	2,086
1917.....	2,708
1918.....	4,123

Many of these miners were young unmarried men but many others brought their families with them. The school census shows what an influx of children resulted.

TABLE No. 3

SCHOOL CENSUS RETURNS, HARLAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY,  
SELECTED YEARS, 1910 TO 1919

Figures from County Superintendent of Schools.

Year	Ages Included	Children	Increase	Period Covered
1910.....	6 to 20	4,200	....	....
1911.....	6 to 20	4,708	508	1 year
1918.....	6 to 20	6,947	2,239	7 years
1919.....	6 to 18	8,580	1,633	1 year

All this new population had to be fed and housed and clothed and the children had to be schooled. This meant that still other workmen had to be imported to satisfy the demands created by the



first arrivals. Mining villages sprang up on every creek. The fertile bottom lands where the best farms had been were often the only level land suitable for the erection of mine offices and houses. The former independent landowners either sold at a profit and retired or parted with their land for a song and became day laborers. With the passing of the farms came the importation of food and the substitution of store products for the household manufactures of the past. The wage system replaced barter and exchange.



HOUSING IN LYNCH, DECEMBER, 1917.

The extension of telephone and telegraph service was an immediate necessity by which the county profited. Electric power was needed for the mines; its introduction brought electric lights into the houses. Large projects for road-building were contemplated. The purely rural, slow-moving life of the past was replaced by a rapid development of communities which were urban in spirit, if not in conveniences, and which were strictly industrial in type.

The static, homogeneous population of the Old Harlan County was replaced by a quickly shifting mass of men from every corner

of the earth, and of every degree of education and experience. Along with the unskilled laborers of the construction gangs and the mines came a group of highly trained men, young engineers, chemists, physicians, business men of ability, who brought new standards of living with them. Harlan Town soon had a commercial club, a coal operators' association, a hospital, a good high school.

In 1919, the county was in the first stages of a transformation which has already taken place, according to the Federal Commission on Immigration, in the older coal-mining states of the south. Alabama, West Virginia and Virginia have, in turn, seen the native white and negro labor in their mines largely, and in some cases wholly displaced by foreign-born labor because, in the first place, the industry has expanded beyond the point where the native-born supply is large enough to fill the demand for workmen and, second, because both the negroes and the mountain born white men are universally considered by mine operators more inefficient and irregular employees than the foreign-born, and are replaced by them whenever possible. Harlan County began to produce coal on a commercial basis only four years before the world war cut off immigration from Europe and the small independent mines were in 1919 still largely manned, by native-born miners. But the two great corporations had already many employees of foreign birth and they were beginning to arrive, usually in little groups of the same nationalities, at the smaller mines. Lynch brought in two trainloads of men a week, the majority of them other than American born, and at Benham, which started operations eight years ago with a purely American group and which does not use the "transportation trains" for procuring its workmen, there were, in 1918, nearly thirty times more men of foreign birth than there were in the whole county in 1910; among them, 35 Mexicans, 28 Italians, 29 Poles, 35 Russians, 63 Hungarians, 45 Austrians and men born in Croatia, Roumania, Serbia, Lithuania, Greece, Porto Rico, Cuba, Spain, Sweden, Belgium, Canada, England, Ireland and Scotland. Although the cessation of immigration from Europe may delay the process somewhat for Harlan County, it seems inevitable that this last stronghold of unmixed American stock will shortly house as cosmopolitan a group of citizens as may be found in any other industrial center of the country.

There also entered Harlan County during these years of trans-

formation, an influence of quite another sort which, though its efforts have been thus far confined more particularly to the western side of Pine Mountain, is destined, with the completion of the road to Harlan Town, to play a larger and larger part in the future of the county's children. The Pine Mountain Settlement School was founded in 1913 by Miss Katherine Pettitt and Miss Ethel DeLong for the purpose of giving industrial, moral and intellectual education, Christian but non-sectarian; to serve as a social center in an isolated, intensely rural neighborhood; to further by teaching and by the wise use of its own 365 acres of land, the agricultural and economic development of the county. Most beautifully does its founding link the best of the Old Harlan County with the

New Harlan, for its buildings stand upon land given by William Creech, pioneer settler and farmer of "yon side Pine Mountain," who deeded his entire worldly wealth to the Settlement "to be used for school purposes as long as the Constitution of the United States stands. Hopin' it may make a bright and intelligent people after I am dead and gone."



THE BIG LOG HOUSE AT THE PINE MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT SCHOOL.

Twenty-five children live here.

Today the plant consists of 15 buildings, waterworks, coal bank, sawmill, chicken, dairy and forestry department and about 60 acres of land are under cultivation. Some 100 children live at the school. The course of study carries them through the 8th grade and a normal course is offered those who wish to teach. All the children earn a part of their expenses by helping with the work, gardening, carpentry, cooking, laundry, care of poultry and stock. A trained nurse supervises their health and gives simple lessons in personal hygiene. A medical settlement has just been established at the mouth of the Big Laurel, four miles from the school, the residents being a graduate of the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia, a trained nurse and an extension worker who also assists the district school teacher in playground work. Both doctor and nurse



are to make physical examinations of school children and to hold infant welfare and other clinics. The nurse will teach classes in hygiene and home nursing in the schools and in the homes. It is the hope of the Settlement that soon there may be ten such centers in isolated districts, sustained and inspired by the school.

In these and in many other ways, the desires of Uncle William, the founder, are being carried out. One of the Pine Mountain residents acts as supervisor of rural schools, helping the teachers with equipment and programs, organizing box-suppers to raise money for a library fund, seeing to the building of toilets and coal-bins, as well as giving demonstration lessons for the teachers. Christmas and Fourth of July celebrations, the community fair, an Old English May Day and the weekly parties for the young people of the neighborhood provide wholesome recreation in which everyone joins. The Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops supplement and strengthen the ideals of the school in the children's development.

An important civic undertaking is the construction of a macadamized road over Pine Mountain to connect the Settlement with Harlan Town and the railroad. It is estimated that to build the six miles of road will cost over \$100,000. Harlan County has given \$5,000 of this amount; State aid will pay from 50 to 60 per cent; the rest has been raised by the Settlement.

The School has been fortunate, from the first, in securing workers trained in the best colleges of the country and it is quite possible that the most valuable contribution it can make to the New Harlan County is to continue its present demonstration of the value of expert service as applied to any social problem.

### LABOR CONDITIONS

Essential to an understanding of child welfare conditions in any community is some idea of the economic forces which shape the lives of the wage-earners in the family of the child. It is characteristic of the industry of mining that the women and girls seldom contribute to the family income, except in the instances, comparatively rare among American families, where boarders are taken. Mining from its very nature, must be carried on in more or less isolated communities. Women can not enter the mines and they have no opportunities for employment in stores or factories, because

there are none accessible, and few chances for domestic service because few families in a mining camp can afford to pay a maid. The mother is ordinarily in the home.

For the same reasons, no occupation outside the mines is open to father or older sons. The child dwells in a one-industry community. What are the conditions under which, in Harlan County, his father earns his bread?

The United Mine Workers of America claim a membership of 3,900 in Harlan County and their success in closing practically every small mine in the county during the recent strike shows how strongly the industry is unionized. The International Harvester Company and the United States Steel Corporation are run as "open shop."

During the period covered by our study, the Harlan County mines were operating under the wage-agreement of the Fuel Administration but rumors were even then heard of the big strike which was to be called "thirty days after the signing of the Peace Treaty." During the war, several disputes had been referred to the federal arbitrator at Knoxville for settlement and both men and superintendents said his awards had given good satisfaction. One operator expressed the opinion that some such system of federal arbitration continued after the war would do much to solve the handling of labor disputes.

One company in Harlan County was working out a system of arbitration of its own. As a means of bringing company and men together, the International Harvester Company in April, 1919, adopted what is known as the Harvester Industrial Council Plan which provides, in brief, for the appointment by the management and the election by the employees of representatives to meet regularly once a month to consider all questions of policy relating to working conditions, health, safety, hours of labor, wages, recreation, education and other similar matters of mutual interest. Labor and management have an equal vote and the representatives of labor are elected by secret ballot. In case questions arise upon which no agreement can be reached by the Works Council, provision is made for arbitration, one arbitrator to be elected by the employees, one by the company, and in case the two can not agree, a third to be chosen by them. The plan had been in operation only one month at the time of our visit to Benham,—too short a time to permit any judgment as to its efficacy—but it was interesting to observe

the attention which the smaller camps nearby were giving to its development and one superintendent told us he was definitely planning to install a similar organization at his mine.

The Harvester Plan, it is to be noted, does more than provide an instrument for settling industrial disputes. It is a substitute—whether adequate or not is a different question—for the municipal government which is wholly lacking in Benham, a town of 3,000 people, just as it is lacking in the smaller mining camps.

How large a part the lack of local citizenship plays in industrial unrest is a matter for conjecture. Bernard Shaw says that the best way to make a man conservative is to give him something to conserve. The coal miner in Harlan County can not own his home; he can not vote for a village ordinance penalizing insanitary sewage disposal; he has no voice in the selection of the physician toward whose pay he is compelled to contribute monthly; he has no share in the government of the community in which he lives. The company owns the houses, the store, the land on which church and schoolhouse stand; and it is the largest contributor to the pay of teacher and minister. If it is a benevolent company, living conditions are undoubtedly much better than those of the surrounding country; if there is ignorant or unscrupulous management, the situation may be unspeakably bad; but in either case the miner feels no responsibility for the conditions under which his children must grow up. He is the more ready to throw up his job at a moment's notice for slight reasons, or none at all, because he has nothing to tie him to the place.

Thus labor consciously or unconsciously takes its revenge upon capital, for a high labor turn-over is expensive to handle and cuts down profits. As to the percentage of labor turn-over in Harlan County coal mines, opinions varied but all agreed that it was excessively high. Various mine superintendents gave us estimates which ranged all the way from 50 to 100 per cent. Of 887 men on the pay-roll of one company in October, 1919, 45.5 per cent or almost one-half, had been employed for less than three months and only 12.5 per cent had been on the pay-roll longer than two years.

It is generally assumed that the unmarried men shift about more frequently than do those with families but a surprisingly large number of children are being moved from place to place within



and outside of the county at a rate highly detrimental to their school work. Eight families, all with children of school age, who lived on a typical street in Camp No. 5 were asked to give the length of time they had been in the camp. Only one had lived there over a year. The periods reported by the others were: two months, one month, eight months, seven months, "nearly a year," two weeks, and the last family, which was interviewed on Saturday had moved in the day before and were planning to leave on Monday. This household had come from East Bernstedt and their moving expenses had totalled nearly \$40. They were leaving because the man did not like the height of the tunnel in the mine—he said the entrance was too low—and because the mine was running only three days a week. They were going to Camp No. 3 where a miner had just told the investigators that he had averaged only three days' work a week for the past month. The one woman whose family had been in camp four years said, "It 'pears like thar ain't no one here I know. They jest keep movin' in and movin' out all the time."

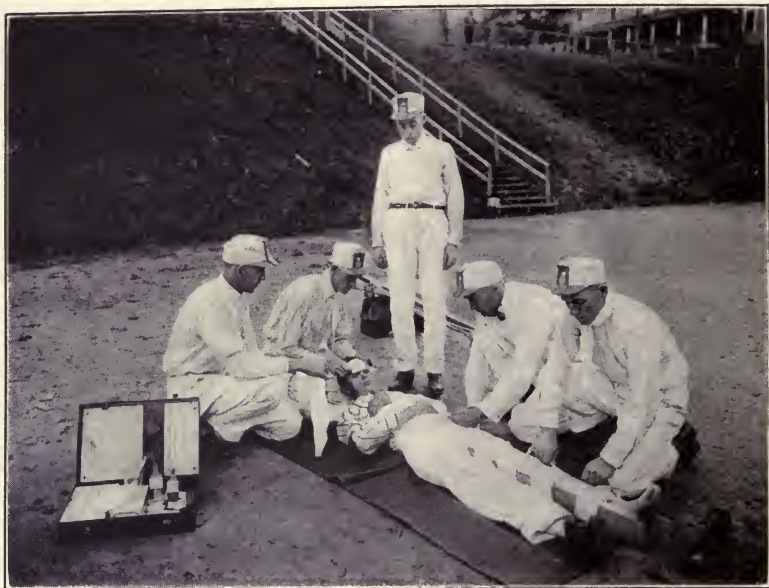
This situation is to a certain degree characteristic of bituminous coal-mining towns everywhere, for the demand for bituminous coal has never become as regularly distributed throughout the year as is the case with anthracite. The mines consequently operate more irregularly and the miners become accustomed to go at frequent intervals from one field to another, or from mine to mine in the same field seeking work. In the mining regions of Virginia West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, this tendency is increased by the well-known instability of the mountaineer as a laborer. "Since the mountain laborer still relies upon his farm as his main source of support," says Miss Verhoeff, "his services can not be depended upon. To work when the larder is empty and to rest when it is full has always been his economic ideal. Accustomed to do his work in his own way he is quick to resent dictation or interference and with little sense of the value of time or the moral obligations of a contract, will forsake his task because of a fancied slight, regardless of consequences to employer and industry. Without disposition to co-operate, he is at once the menace and the despair of the labor union, although temporarily influenced by each walking delegate."

Official reports on the number of days a coal mine has been in

operation in any district during any year give little idea of the regularity of employment of individual miners. A breakdown of machinery may tie up production for two or three men for a week; a fall of roof in one branch of the mine may stop operations there for several hours; a shortage of cars may make it impossible to keep the men busy to their full capacity. While the limitations of this report forbade any effort to enter at all thoroughly into the question of hours, wages and regularity of employment, it did prove possible to copy from the books of one company the employment records of 513 men during the first two weeks of January, 1919, and from another company's books, the records of 161 miners during the month of April, 1919. Of the 513 men listed for the 15 day period, 251 worked from one to seven days and 262, from eight to fourteen days. Only three men worked every day. Of the 161 men employed during the month of April, 5 worked every day, 58, from five to fourteen days and 103, from fifteen to twenty-six days. Naturally, it was not possible to learn the reason for the unemployment of nearly one-half the first group and one-third of the second for half the time. It may have been entirely the fault of the men themselves. Again, the figures cover too short a time and too small a number of men to be interpreted as conclusive, but they do throw some light on the claims of the miners regarding the amount of idle time in the bituminous coal-mining industry.

The wage of a miner, however, is determined only in part by the number of days he works. He is not paid by the day or hour, except for certain jobs rated on a time basis, but by the amount of coal loaded. Daily averages of wages paid show only the money actually drawn by the men and give no idea of the number of hours actually worked. Of 668 miners whose wages were tabulated from the company records for a two-week period, 14 earned less than \$3 a day; 197 under \$5; and 578 under \$8. 93 received \$8 and over. The lowest wage was \$2.66, paid to one man, and the highest was \$23.95, paid to one man.

Of 48 men employed by another company during April, 1919, 11 earned less than \$50 a month; 31, under \$100; 44, under \$150. One man earned \$172.86; one, \$185.13; one, \$250.71; and one, \$311.40. The total earnings of the group for the month were \$4,165.35 and of this amount, there was deducted for expenditures



FIRST AID TEAM AT WORK, BENHAM, WINNERS OF FIRST PLACE IN HARLAN COUNTY FIRST AID CONTEST.

in the company store paid for by "scrip" or company money, \$1,878.64 and for rent, fuel, car checks, blacksmithing and hospital charges, a total of \$214.15. In other words, 45 per cent of the earnings of the 48 men was spent in the form of "scrip" in the company store, in addition to cash purchases, amount unknown, and 49 per cent, or almost half their earnings, was returned to the company for merchandise, rent, fuel, car checks, blacksmithing and hospital charges.

No effort was made to study the sanitation of the mines or the adequacy of the precautions taken to avert accident. All but one of the mines visited had accepted the provisions of the Kentucky Workman's Compensation Act and all had either trained or were in process of organizing First Aid teams. Several spoke with pride of the extent to which they had reduced their insurance by the installation of safety devices. The mining laws of Kentucky provide for the establishment of five "rescue divisions" in the state, where apparatus and supplies for use in mine rescue and



relief work are to be kept and where miners can be trained for rescue work. The Federal Bureau of Mines has also helped in the training of first aid teams. All operators are required to keep stretchers and emergency supplies on hand at the mine, ready for instant use.

The office of state inspector of mines for Kentucky was created in 1884 and from time to time, as the number of mines in the state increased, assistants have been added to the staff. The office of one of these assistants is in Harlan Town and the incumbent spends his time in inspecting the mines of the district for sanitation and safety provisions, and for violations of the child labor law.

## HEALTH

Any effort to study child welfare conditions in the mining camps of eastern Kentucky as exemplified by Harlan County, must differentiate between the large corporations and the small independent companies. This is especially true as related to the health situation. Of first importance in determining the health of the children of a community are its provisions for sanitation. In mining camps where one group of men representing the company absolutely controls the choice of site, the water supply, the sewage disposal and the housing, it ought to be possible to create a village as free from disease-producing conditions as an army camp. This possibility has been recognized by the great corporations which are fully alive to the real economy of keeping their workmen well; it is almost wholly disregarded by the small independent companies, which even if they comprehend the value of preventive measures are too apt to think that because their lack of large capital prevents them from carrying an elaborate work, they should do nothing at all. The real health problem in the Harlan County mining field is that of the smaller camps and this will be true also in the new territory in Kentucky which is still open for development. Conditions are not ideal either at Lynch or Benham, but the headquarters staff of both the United States Steel Corporation and the International Harvester Company know what the best modern standards demand and have a definitely established policy tending to their attainment. In these villages, not the policy but

the local administration is at fault when health conditions are not what they should be.

On the other hand, the independent companies have naturally no uniform policy. Many of them operate on a very small scale and are not sure of the permanence of their work. Some are managed by men who are not familiar with the possibilities of village planning without excessive expense and do not realize what state and federal resources are at their service free of any charge. A few are frankly out for what money they can get irrespective of the health of their employees. All have been caught up by the intense pressure for production necessary during the war period, when haste was the one essential and all other considerations went by the board. All are greatly handicapped in the development of a health program by the constant shifting about of the workmen and their families, which necessitates constant re-instruction, and by the fact that large numbers of the miners come from communities where the simplest provisions for hygienic living are not known.

Under such circumstances, what is it fair to ask of the smaller companies? What are the essentials with which the State Board of Health, for instance, might demand compliance? What other measures might it suggest as desirable if the best results were to be attained? And are there ways also in which the state could be of greater service to the corporations?

No one can conceive how urgent is the need for formulating an answer to these questions until he actually sees for himself the surroundings amid which the children of certain mining camps are now being born and nurtured.

#### SITE

Without exception, all the small Harlan County operations which were visited are located on a stream-bed in a narrow valley with wooded hills rising abruptly on either side. Frequently the slope is so steep that the houses have no space adjoining for yard or garden; schools are perched upon the hillside with no room for play; and in more than one camp there is literally not enough unoccupied level ground for a baseball diamond. Nor is there much room for expansion laterally, since the settlements already elbow one another all the way out from Harlan in every direction. The

result is that houses are crowded together about the streams which are so polluted by surface drainage that they are practically open sewers.

The railroad tracks follow the course of the streams through the center of the camps. To the noise of the trains is added the constant clatter of the coal in the tippie and the smoke from the engine joins with the coal dust to pollute the clear mountain air. The hills shut off the breezes which would normally carry away the smoke and dust and unpleasant odors from the stagnant water.

The railroad is a constant source of danger to the children, who have to cross the tracks frequently and the mothers of those boys and girls who daily "walk the ties" to school, say they never have an easy moment until the children are back at nightfall. In one camp, the tracks literally ran between the door yards of two rows of houses. Anxious mothers tried to confine the little children to the very narrow porches and to the fenced-in yards, but one mother of three said she was at her wit's end from morning till bedtime, trying to keep the children off the tracks. The only way to get to most of the camps is to take the train which makes one trip in each direction daily, or to "walk the ties." Roads suitable for automobile travel are practically non-existent and at least half the camps visited could not be reached by wagon road.

With such transportation facilities, it is not easy for miners to live in Harlan Town and go back and forth to work, although some of them do so, and the suggestion of the Federal Bureau of Mines that the houses for employees be built at some distance from the mining plant, thus permitting the selection of a more desirable site, would hardly be practicable for the smaller mines in Kentucky under present conditions.

Expenditures for construction are considerably less if the shipment and hauling of building material for both plant and village can be planned for one place and if one water supply and heating plant can be arranged. It is more convenient for the miners, also, to have their homes near to the mines.

The sites now occupied, however, could be greatly improved by electrifying the railroads and establishing safe crossings and by such town-planning as will guarantee good drainage and sewage disposal, a safe water supply, and comfortable houses.



## DRAINAGE AND SEWAGE DISPOSAL

At present, a heavy rain turns the lower section of the smaller camps into a mud puddle. No sidewalks were anywhere seen, the most ambitious approach to such a luxury being the cinder paths found in one camp only. Occasionally railroad ties had been stretched, end to end, through some of the worst hollows, and sometimes boulders were conveniently placed for stepping-stones, but mostly, one waded.

In Camp No. 9, no attempt whatever had been made at drainage. On the day of our visit, stagnant water stood in pools in the so-called streets. Tin cans, garbage, dish water, refuse of all sorts was dumped in front of the houses. Pigs, cows and chickens roamed in the streets and both pigs and chickens were seen in the family sitting rooms. Many of the houses were without toilets of any sort. Some had privies which were located over the river and discharged into the stream. Others had open vault privies which were in a filthy condition. None were screened and no houses were screened. The miners had threatened to appeal to the County Board of Health if conditions were not made better before summer. One man told the visitor in deep disgust: "This is the nastiest place on the line, and if it is not cleaned up before hot weather comes, half the people will be dead."

Similar conditions prevailed in all or parts of practically every camp visited. Yet drainage by ditching would have been a comparatively simple matter, since the slope of the hills was so great that the water, diverted into proper channels would quickly have run off into the stream.

Closely related to the question of drainage is the method of sewage disposal. A general underground sewerage system is usually impracticable about mining camps, since such a system demands a fairly uniform supply of water and is excessively expensive to install on account of the broken nature of the ground. But it is certainly not too much to expect that some decent method be provided for the disposal of human waste. The Kentucky State Board of Health has urged the installation of an inexpensive sanitary toilet for every house, but in May, 1919, only one of the small camps visited had accomplished this. Eight camps had no sanitary toilets at all; two reported a few; one camp had six; one, forty-five; one

planned to install toilets throughout the camp but had none in place at the time of our visit.

At Camp No. 3, which had the distinction of being first to put in the complete installation, the superintendent reported great difficulty in teaching the people how to use the toilets and how to keep them clean. When they were first set up, the company tried to get all the families to purchase toilet paper and a sanitary inspector was engaged to supervise the condition in which the toilets were kept. This man, in pursuit of his duties, became engaged in a dispute with a housewife who drew a gun on him. In trying to get the weapon from her, he is said to have knocked her down. Within a few days, he was shot from ambush by an infuriated miner. Now the company hires a man to clean out the concrete tanks once a year but makes no further effort to supervise their condition. As a result of this policy at least one-half dozen of the toilets have been partially torn down; insufficient water was being used in those still standing and they were in a filthy condition. Miners blamed



MINERS' HOUSES IN LYNCH. NOTE VARIETY IN ARCHITECTURE, FENCING, COAL-SHED AND SANITARY TOILET.

the children saying they put sticks and stones down the toilets and stopped them up.

In Camp No. 6, where six "Sanisept" toilets had arrived and one was being installed on the day of our visit, the superintendent planned to placard them with printed instructions as to their use and to furnish toilet paper for a time free of charge.

At other mines, a few sanitary toilets had been installed for the camp, but in neither instance were they well kept and both officials and people said they were no good.

It is quite obvious that no installation of new devices of this nature will be wholly successful unless it is preceded by a definite campaign to enlist the co-operation of the miners' families who are to use them, and followed by a tactful but unremitting supervision. In camps of shifting population, each new family would need to be interviewed on its arrival and the company, as renting agent, might well hold itself responsible for seeing that its tenant finds all his new property in a sanitary condition to start with.

For the miners' families, contrary to the impression of some superintendents, do, for the most part, appreciate cleanliness and decency. In a camp where the superintendent spoke in the most contemptuous way of the attitude of the people toward modern improvements, the women who were interviewed expressed the greatest eagerness for the arrival of the new sanitary toilets, of which they had heard, hoping that they might be in place before summer.

A condition common to many camps is the inadequate provision of toilet facilities. Some of the families had no toilets at all and used the yard or the woods. Others shared toilets built for the use of four families with the seats separated by wooden partitions. The moral dangers to children and adults of such an arrangement are sufficiently clear. In one community with 29 houses, only 4 pit latrines were found in the entire camp; in another 4 privies were counted to 10 houses.

Little effort seemed to be made to keep such outhouses as there were, in good condition. One manager frankly stated that the vaults had never been cleaned out in the history of the camp, but said he was planning to move all the old wooden buildings away and fill the pits with lime. A woman sent for the visitors to look at her neighbor's toilet. The refuse had com-



pletely run over the pit and was passing down the hillside through the yard. The toilets here, crowded together as they were, had sacks hung up for doors. Twelve toilets inspected at random in another camp were all, without exception, in fearful condition. The pits were shallow and there was no drainage, except as the rain washed the refuse away; none were screened; some were seen without any doors. A man said: "I tell you, Mister, it is pretty hard in the summer time when it gets hot and the flies are bad."

### WATER SUPPLY

Ten of the fourteen independent camps reported drilled wells cased-in to the rock; three had dug wells; and for one the information was not obtained. A few of these wells were protected from surface pollution by concrete shields; the majority were curbed by rough boards not water tight. None of them were located with the slightest regard to the proximity of privies or stables.

According to the statement of the company physicians, only three camps regularly sent specimens of water from all wells to the State Board of Health for analysis as often as once a year. One reported that analysis had been made "several years ago" and never since. Five had never tested the water.

The number of families compelled to draw water from one well varied from five to twenty-nine. This meant in many cases, a long carry for a woman, or children; it also meant an inadequate supply of well water for at least half of the camps. In several places the women were forbidden to use well water for washing or scrubbing. They then had to resort to the polluted waters of the stream, or as in one case, to an abandoned dug well. In another camp the people still drew drinking water from a well which had been condemned by the company physician some time before.

In several camps, springs served to supplement the wells. In no case had these springs been covered or walled up to prevent surface pollution. One was said to be the outlet for refuse water from the mines; another flowed out beneath the burial ground of the camp dogs.

It is always difficult to prevent the use of springs by people who have been accustomed to regard them as the most to be desired source of drinking water, but unless the water is tested and found

pure and the springs are then covered, provided with a concrete basin and piped so that it is not possible to dip buckets into them they are a potential source of serious infection. The Tennessee Coal and Iron Company has found it useless to request its Alabama employees to discontinue the use of springs. Now if it is found impossible to purify the water or to protect it at its source, the spring is stopped up.

### GARBAGE DISPOSAL AND FLY PROTECTION

Only at Lynch and Benham was garbage regularly removed by scavengers in the employ of the company. Elsewhere the responsibility fell upon the individual miner. Two of the smaller camps, however, reported an annual "clean-up day." In Camp No. 3 the company hired men to remove tin cans and other rubbish and provided teams and wagons to haul it away. The usual custom is to throw rubbish in the backyard where the pigs and chickens feed upon it. Since all the houses are raised on piers with large open spaces between, much refuse is thrown under the house where it attracts flies and breeds vermin and creates odors. In the winter time when the house is warm it acts as a chimney and the offensive odors are sucked up through the cracks in the flooring, into the living quarters of the family. No garbage cans nor rubbish barrels had anywhere been provided.

A large corporation in its coal mining villages in Alabama, where the workmen represent much the same group as in the Kentucky coal fields, provides a galvanized iron garbage can and a wooden trash barrel for each house and these are removed weekly and emptied by a company employee. If tenants then fail to keep their premises clean, the company cleans up for them, at the tenant's expense. The rubbish is burned or buried at a point distant from houses or sources of water supply.

The practice of keeping cows, pigs and chickens, common in all the camps, also creates a nuisance which should receive attention. The health of the community demands that some arrangement be made for caring for pigs and cows outside the camp limits and for keeping chickens in runways or fenced-in yards. There is certainly no place in the average small backyard of the mining village for a stable or a pigpen.

The managers of two camps reported that the companies had provided free, fenced-in pasturage outside the camp limits for cows and that the keeping of pigs had been forbidden, but both cows and pigs were seen freely roaming about the streets in both places. The women of the camp explained this by saying that the pasture gates were frequently left open and the animals walked out.

As manure is not properly removed and as practically no houses are screened, the camps are never free from the danger of a fly-borne epidemic during the hot weather.

### HOUSING AND GARDENS

The houses in mining camp villages are in most cases erected by the company and remain its property. Most of those seen in Harlan County were what is known as the "pattern-house type," a rectangular box-like frame building of matched boards, one story in height, raised on brick piers and having a narrow veranda across the front. The houses are usually left unplastered inside. They are heated by open fire-places and by the coal ranges which are used for cooking.

Often they are wired for electric lights from the company powerhouse. The toilets, as before indicated, are all out of doors; there is no sink and no supply of cistern water is piped into the kitchen.

In seven of the fourteen camps visited the houses were badly in need of repair. Some had never been painted and others had apparently received only a single coat of paint and that so long ago that the remains were barely visible. The houses in the negro quarters were always in a worse state of repair than those provided for the white workmen, though they were frequently more neatly kept.

The majority of the houses had four rooms, although a few two or three room houses were reported from each camp. The monthly rent is usually about \$2 a room. Typical of the rent scale in one of the better type towns is the following: a plastered house of four rooms with electric light and garden plot rents for \$8.25 per month; the same house, sealed instead of plastered, rents for \$7; a box house of three rooms, rents for \$6 with the lights installed; for \$3 without lights; a two room house rents for \$4.75.





TYPICAL OF THE MINING CAMPS IN HARLAN COUNTY.

Two superintendents laid special stress upon the fact that the company wished only one family to occupy a house. Unfortunately it proved impossible in the time at our disposal, to get figures on the number of persons to the room, which would determine the degree of overcrowding. The typical miner's family is a large one and many interviews were taken where the children seemed literally to overflow the three or four small rooms which the family occupied.

Almost none of the houses were screened. A miner in Camp No. 14 said that some of the men had put in screens at their own expense but the company had given them to understand that the screens could not be removed, and naturally no one wished to continue the installation under such conditions.

Yards were noticeably well kept in only one camp. Here the company had set out maples along the main street and several miners' families had lawns with flowers and shrubs. Another camp had many porch swings and rockers and a half dozen verandas boasted plants or hanging baskets. These were exceptional. Usually the one touch of color in the grey streets came from the green of the little gardens which in eight of the camps nearly every family possessed.

Except in the bottom lands adjoining the streams the soil on these hillsides is thin and stony, needing much fertilization to make it really productive. One miner reported that the men could get manure for this purpose from the company stables, free of charge, if they wished it and commercial fertilizers were sometimes sold at cost by the company stores, but in general, the management made little effort to encourage the enrichment of the soil.

In Camp No. 3, the company furnished fencing free and charged \$1 a day for the use of the company mules for ploughing but if a man was unable to pay, he was given the use of the mule free. About 20 families had large gardens back on the hillside on company land which was given to them rent free.

At Camp No. 5, nearly everyone had a small garden plot and between 20 and 25 families had additional gardens on the hill on mine land which is furnished them free. The company guaranteed that a man might retain the same plot for two consecutive years. Mule manure which according to the clerk of the company store was worth \$2 a load was sold to miners for \$1 and the company permitted them to rent mules for ploughing at 25 cents an hour. The men said, however, that mules were not always avail-



A MOUNTAIN HOME OF THE POORER TYPE: FATHER, MOTHER AND FIVE CHILDREN OCCUPY THIS WRETCHED CABIN.

able when wanted. The superintendent said he encouraged gardening because he thought it helped out the men with their living and because it helped keep them steady workers. He said he had noticed that \$10 worth of garden in this camp was a more powerful inducement than \$100 in cash somewhere else.

This is a refreshing contrast to the attitude of another superintendent who, when asked what the company did to encourage gardening, reported that the miners would resent any such effort on his part as an unwarranted interference in their affairs, so nothing was done. In this entire camp there was only one small garden.

The cost of fencing prevents some garden work from going on. One man was interviewed who was just having his fence put up at a cost of \$15 although he had been notified that he could not afterwards remove it. Not many men would be willing to do this and it is not surprising that there were not more than one dozen gardens for the 90 houses in this camp.

Gardens combine recreation and utility for every member of the family. Good economy demands that camps should be laid out in large enough lots so that a fair sized plot may adjoin each house, or if the nature of the site renders this impracticable, that tracts on company land nearby be set aside for this purpose. Fencing should be provided and kept in repair by the company free of charge since it represents a permanent improvement on property which remains in the hands of the company, but the miners might well pay a small fee for the use of the company's mules or fertilizer. An important provision in case of gardens located away from the house should be that the men are guaranteed the use of the same plot in successive years.

It is elsewhere suggested that the unions and the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association call the county agent into consultation and enlist his aid in interesting the boys and girls, particularly, in the possibilities of gardening, not only at their own homes but at the schools. The beginnings might be very simple, but with tactful encouragement on the part of the companies, a spirit of wholesome competition might be aroused between families in the same camp, or between camps, which would transform the barren yards, would permit more variety in diet and decrease food expenditures, and, not least in importance, would give the children



a harmless vent for their surplus energy and a taste of the supreme joy of "watching things grow."

For help in solving the many technical difficulties which accompany the selection of site, arrangement for satisfactory drainage, disposal of sewage and garbage, protection of water supply and provision of good housing for employees at reasonable cost, the companies with small capital must probably turn to the State Board of Health. Indeed the State Board has already issued a ruling, which in Kentucky has the force of law, which requires every person, firm or corporation employing labor and providing houses for its workmen to submit all plans for new construction or for the alteration of existing houses to the State Board of Health before starting to build. The minimum requirements set forth in the law are: a pure, abundant and accessible supply of drinking water, connection with a sanitary sewage system, or the installation of Kentucky sanitary privies, fly-proof screening for dining rooms and kitchens and adequate room for each family.

At Lynch and Benham, the necessity for building along scientific lines has already been recognized.

### **LYNCH**

The town of Lynch has been carefully planned with streets to be macadamized, of easy grades and with electric lights. Gutters and curbs will supply good drainage into the creek, which is walled with stone. The hotel, schools, churches, hospital, commissary, and amusement buildings are conveniently located and will add to the appearance of the town.

The houses are new, well constructed, and of varied sizes and designs. All are ceiled or plastered and their appearance is very pleasing. The company has provided a uniform fencing for the yards, and small gardens will be possible.

There were still in May, 1919, an insufficient number of houses to supply the needs of the camp, but the houses were being used for the most part by the married miners and their families. A great number of single men were living in crude barracks, with double decker bunks holding four men. Many of these barracks were found in a very dirty condition with badly soiled bedding and overcrowding which would compare with some of the worst barracks conditions the American soldiers suffered in France.



LOWER END OF THE TOWN OF LYNCH, SEPTEMBER 1, 1917.

This photograph was taken from the hills overlooking the site of the future Lynch. The fence incloses the corral for mules used in construction work, and their stable is in the right foreground. How well mules and men and engineers pulled together can be seen from the photograph on the following page, which shows the same spot just one year and eight months later.



LOWER END OF THE TOWN OF LYNCH, MAY 1, 1919.

The large brick building in the left background is the company store. The two-story houses are occupied by four families each or are used as boarding houses. The railroad runs along the base of the hills and a coal chute can be seen toward the right center. Back on the slope of the hill are the barracks occupied by the single men of the construction gangs.



## WATER SUPPLY

As an emergency water supply deep driven wells had been placed throughout the camp. Most of these wells were curbed with concrete and thoroughly protected against surface pollution. Bacteriological examinations of the water have been made about once per month. Under such conditions, with so much digging and construction in the vicinity, it is unfortunate that examinations are not made more frequently. The company employs a chemist who will be able to make the tests as soon as a laboratory can be provided. A laboratory has been planned as a part of the hospital.

At present a great many people in the community are using water from the numerous springs in the mountainside. The camp surgeon has caused signs to be placed near some of these springs, warning people of the danger of drinking the water, but in a camp with so shifting a population, much more strenuous efforts are necessary to prevent its use.

The company has under construction deep wells with a reservoir upon the hill which will supply pure water to all parts of the camp. A tap and a sink with waste pipe attached which will carry the water into the town sewer are to be placed in each house in the camp.

## SEWAGE DISPOSAL

The present methods of sewage disposal are far from satisfactory. The rapid growth of the camp has undoubtedly made this proposition a serious problem and the company has had an honest desire to meet the situation, but with the conditions found, it is surprising that there have been no more typhoid and diarrhoeal diseases.\*

"Sanisept" closets constructed by a company in Wilmington, North Carolina, on the principle of a septic tank, have been installed through the camp. These closets are to be connected with a sewer system which is now under construction. At present they are supposed to be cleaned when full by a scavenger hired by the company, but on the date of inspection, some were found overflowing.

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\*Under date of January 20, 1920, The United States Steel Corporation reports that only one death from typhoid fever has occurred at Lynch and that there have been "very few cases of the disease."

Many of the seats had no covers. We were told that some months prior to our visit a little child had fallen into the vault through one of these uncovered seats and had been killed.

The most dangerous condition, however, is that of the open privy vaults on the outskirts of the camp. A number of these were open in the rear and exposed to flies, pigs, and small animals. Within less than 100 feet from a bakery supplying bread for the camp was seen an open privy in a filthy condition; and nearby was a horse stable that will, in all probability, with the advance of the fly season, supply plenty of flies to add another link to the chain of disease producing conditions.

At the colored school house near the bakeshop the outhouse was in the worst possible condition, with excreta running out upon the surface of the ground.

#### GARBAGE DISPOSAL AND FLY PROTECTION

Garbage and trash is removed from the vicinity of the camp by company scavengers. New covered garbage cans were seen at the back door of many houses; however, a large number of dirty open barrels were noted, which will probably swarm with flies as the season advances, unless removed. Tin cans were fairly well policed up throughout the camp.

Several large horse and mule stables in and at the edge of the camp were breeding some flies, and can be expected to become a fly menace at a later part of the season, unless manure piles are kept removed. At one of these stables in the center of the camp, a daily removal had been started.

The company intends to promote as far as possible the screening of all the houses.

Although the officials stated that pigs were not allowed on the streets of the town, this rule was evidently not being strictly enforced. Probably there were insufficient police or sanitary inspectors. A number of piggens were seen in the camp and several times cows were noted in the backyards or on the streets. The management have laid out several places at the edge of the camp where animals may be kept adjacent to pasture land on the hillside, and it is very likely that these rules will be enforced as the camp becomes better organized.



THE VILLAGE OF BENHAM.

Especially noteworthy is the location of the recreation field, the circular plot of land in the heart of the town. About it cluster the Y. M. C. A. building, the Company store and offices. Toward the left of the picture can be clearly seen the size of the lots on which the houses stand. A yard and a garden are possible for all.



**BENHAM**

Benham is situated on an elevation with good drainage, cinder roads, and electric lights. The houses have from two to four rooms and in the new camp which is lower in the valley, the houses are all of four rooms. Many of the houses in the older camp are dingy in appearance and need painting but practically every house has a large yard and a very good garden. The negro population is in a segregated district.

**WATER SUPPLY**

Water is piped throughout the camp from a central reservoir supplied from deep wells. The water is examined about once every month, although it is not done regularly. The company physician said that all examinations had shown the water to be satisfactory.

**SEWAGE DISPOSAL**

Leaching privy vaults are used throughout this camp. Many of these vaults were found in bad condition, exposed to flies and polluting the ground. Apparently no effort has been made to provide sanitary sewage disposal.

**GARBAGE DISPOSAL AND FLY PROTECTION**

The company provides scavengers for removal of garbage and waste. The streets were fairly clean and conditions about the camp appeared well policed. Numerous pigs were seen in the streets and pigpens were seen about the camp.

**MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY**

Under such living conditions as prevail in most of the smaller mining camps, what is the situation as to sickness and death rate? Unfortunately it is impossible to get accurate statistics for individual camps since the returns from small, unincorporated communities such as these are not separately kept by the State Board of Health. Even if they were, the figures would not present an accurate picture of actual conditions for a sick man is not long permitted to remain in the ordinary mining camp. The company

houses are needed for its workmen and when a miner becomes too ill to work, he moves out, "down the hollow" or "up the branch," and his death takes place elsewhere than in the camp.

Nor can the statistics for the county, as compiled by the State Board of Health be quoted with assurance because they are based upon an estimated normal increase of population since the last federal census and disregard entirely the abnormal increase due to the opening of the mines. When it is fairly certain that the two largest camps alone contain nearly as many people as the estimate allows for the entire county, it is obviously unfair to accept a typhoid death-rate based upon the latter. It proved impossible to get any reliable figures from any source upon which death or sickness rates could be computed.

Certain totals, however, are in themselves of significance. Seven hundred and eighty-five births were reported from Harlan County in 1918 and there were 110 deaths of infants under one year of age, approximately one death to every eight births. Thirty babies under two years of age died from diarrhoeal diseases; 12 deaths occurred at other ages from the same cause; 16 deaths from typhoid fever were reported. This indicates a high death-rate from preventable causes and a comparison of the proportion which such deaths bear to the total number of deaths from all causes reported for the last eight years shows that in Harlan County, the situation is growing worse, instead of better. During the five-year period from 1911 to 1915, inclusive, an average of 47 out of every 100 deaths in Harlan County were due to preventable diseases. In 1916, the figure was the same; in 1917 it had risen to 56, and by 1918, to 73. During the same period, the rate for the state rose from 41 to 45. The increase in both state and county in 1918 was due in large part to the influenza but that extraordinary epidemic had nothing to do with the fact that in 1917, more than half of the people who died in Harlan County lost their lives because of inadequate protection against preventable diseases.

Although the state law requires the reporting of contagious diseases to the State Board of Health, no reports were on file from Harlan County for 1918. Our interviews with company doctors indicated that there was a considerable amount of sickness most of the time, especially among the women and children. Girls marry young and are soon prematurely aged by excessive child-

bearing and its attendant ills. Families are large and the infant mortality rate is high. In practically every household which was visited, conditions were evident, even to the casual observer, which indicated the crying need for a well trained public health nurse.

One woman, still in her thirties, who was interviewed, is now almost completely paralyzed. She has four living children and has lost seven, only one of whom lived over three months. Her 15-year old daughter has chronic appendicitis, but refuses to have the needed operation performed. Bad health has kept her out of school so much that she has only reached the second grade.

A mother with three living children has lost three and has had six miscarriages. One of her babies died at three months of small-pox.

A woman with all the symptoms of advanced tuberculosis, says the doctor pronounced her "weak-breasted," but not tubercular. She is living on patent medicine because it "makes her stomach set better than anything else." She does not cough much now but has some pain in the chest and is badly emaciated. One summer she had pellagra, but she "took 14 bottles of Indian Herb medicine and got well." She lost six children in infancy.

A mother says that every one of her six children has trachoma. A 12-year old daughter, the only one to receive treatment, has been twice in the Government Hospital at London. The child can now see only a little. She has attended school only three months and of course can neither read nor write.

A physician reported an epidemic of venereal disease among the men, after the visit of a travelling carnival which featured dancing concessions. It was naturally almost impossible to get any information in personal interviews about the prevalence of venereal diseases. Two boys, 18 and 13 years of age, told the men investigators that they had been infected by two young girls who plied their trade of clandestine prostitution at the company boarding house.

#### MEDICAL AND NURSING CARE

The medical care available to miners and their families was, so far as could be learned, wholly remedial in character. No preventive work except an infrequent inspection of the water supply and an occasional vaccination was being done by physicians and no public health nurses were at work in the county except at Lynch and Benham.

Each camp had a "company doctor" paid by cuts taken from the wages of the men by the company, usually 75 cents or \$1 a month



for a bachelor and \$1.50 for a married man. Thus ordinarily the monthly salary of the physician varied with the number of employees, but one camp was found where the doctor was guaranteed \$100 a month and the company furnished medicine free. The physician is supposed to care for any case of accident or sickness occurring in the camp without charge either to the men or their families. He is allowed, however, to ask a fee for the treatment of venereal



MEDICAL EXAMINATION OF EMPLOYEES, WISCONSIN STEEL COMPANY, BENHAM.

diseases, for obstetrical work and for major operations, except those covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act.

The usual fee for obstetrical cases is \$15 and this rarely includes any supervision during pregnancy. No cases were reported to us where the urine had been tested or measurements had been taken, even in the case of a primipara. The physician assists in the actual delivery and makes one or two calls afterward, but the essential preliminary precautions are seldom if ever taken. Yet the miner prefers to have a physician care for his wife during childbirth. Midwives are resorted to only as a second choice when a physician

is unobtainable. The number of registered midwives in Harlan County is 34.

Although each doctor is supposed to be on call at any time, several miners reported great difficulty in getting medical services promptly. One physician was said to refuse altogether to make night calls. With two exceptions all the physicians interviewed live at Harlan Town and the lack of good roads leading to the camps has already been described. One man frequently serves several camps besides carrying on a private practice. The miners are convinced that the private practice profits at their expense and it is certain that under the present arrangement their wives and children are not receiving the medical attention which they need. The following brief extracts from individual reports indicate the seriousness of the situation:

Camp No. 1.—During the last year, the doctor said there had been ten cases of small-pox. He quarantined them but did not compel vaccination. He spoke of the deplorable condition of certain homes, saying the filth and stench were worse than in some toilets, but stated that he did not feel free to go in and order the people to clean up because they might get up a petition to have him removed. "You know a miner is always a miner," he said, "and one can not do anything for these people."

Camp No. 3.—Small-pox vaccination is not enforced; typhoid inoculations cost \$5; at the time of our visit, a case of diphtheria was not quarantined, except that the family was told to keep out visitors. The house was not placarded and the husband of the patient was working in the mine as usual. Several other cases of diphtheria had been previously reported in this camp. Although



BADLY INFECTED WITH HOOKWORM.

Note the lack of expression, emaciation, pot belly and swollen feet.

the physician lives within a stone's throw of the schoolhouse, the two teachers, both of whom were interviewed and both of whom had taught in the camp school more than two years, said that so far as they knew, the physician had never visited the schoolhouse. He had never given them any instructions as to the detection and exclusion of contagious diseases and had never made any physical examinations of the school children.

Camp No. 4.—Here the physician is selected by joint agreement between the miners and the company. He stated that if the mine owners would hire him outright so that he was not dependent upon the favor of the miners for his living, he would require the men to clean up and maintain sanitary conditions. He stated that no attempt had been made to vaccinate for small-pox at the time of one epidemic.

Camp No. 14.—This doctor, who also serves Camp No. 12, frankly admits that he does no preventive work. Vaccination is not compulsory although there has been a good bit of small-pox in the camp at different times. There is no typhoid inoculation except when persons request it. The doctor believes that "half the people in camp have hookworm," but he said, "Cases seldom become serious. You treat a child having hookworm and there is no difference. The worms are so few they are not taking much of the blood."

Camp No. 6.—The manager said there was one case of small-pox in camp last year but when he tried to get the county health officer to enforce quarantine, he could get no response. The family were left at large. "But the force of public sentiment really compelled them to confine themselves pretty closely to their own quarters."

The only hospital in the county at the time of our visit was a private institution at Harlan Town and a temporary structure at Lynch which was to be replaced by a permanent building later. To the Harlan Hospital were sent operative cases from any of the camps and to defray the cost of their care, it was customary in certain camps to deduct 25 cents a month from the wages of each miner. Two men in one camp said they were not "cut," because they had objected on the ground that the Workmen's Compensation Act furnished hospital care. In two camps where the cut was optional no one was taking advantage of it and figures given by the chief nurse at the Harlan Hospital indicate how little the hospital is used by miners or their families. She reports that from January, 1919, to December 1, 1919, 24 patients were received from mining camps: 11 were surgical cases; 6 injuries; 4 dysentery; 1 maternity; 1 pelvic peritonitis; and 1 catarrh of stomach.



In addition to making deductions from the men's wages for hospital care, certain camps take also \$1 a month for a burial fund. The influenza epidemic made deep inroads upon this fund. In one camp miners considered it particularly desirable that both burial and hospital fund should be audited and a report made to the men of the way in which the money had been spent.

#### HEALTH WORK AT LYNCH AND BENHAM

Two nurses both with good previous experience in public health work and a staff of two physicians are employed by the Wisconsin Steel Company at Benham to safeguard the health of the village. Each applicant for a position in the mines is physically examined and is assigned to work fitted to his capacity. All sickness and accident cases are given medical and nursing care in their homes when necessary and the families of the miners receive the same benefits as the man without extra charge except for confinement cases.



NURSES ASSISTING PHYSICIANS IN DISPENSARY MAINTAINED BY THE  
WISCONSIN STEEL COMPANY AT BENHAM.

Between January 1, 1918 and January 1, 1919, the nurses made 1,286 nursing calls, and 100 welfare calls in the homes. In the first three months of 1919, the doctors averaged 542 calls a month; the nurses, 134. Plans for an infant welfare clinic were under consideration.

The work is paid for in part by deductions from the wages of the men, amounting to 50 cents a month for the single and \$1 for the married man.

A similar scheme of health care was in process of development at Lynch, and there as already indicated, the company will erect its own hospital.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

The solution of the health problem in the small camps of Harlan County is probably the creation of the county health unit, as advocated by the State Board of Health. This would consist of a typical all-time county health officer and assistant physicians as needed, with public health nurses and a county board of health to back them up. "It is thoroughly impracticable," says a recent report on health conditions in Kentucky, "for the State Board of Health to spread its activities so as to demonstrate to the miners and mine operators what might be done to prevent disease and even if it did succeed in convincing them that the company physicians might be used for preventive work, it could not supervise that work and make it effective. . . . The United Mine Workers of America and the Mine Operators' Association should prove excellent channels for collective education and effort along health lines."

Prior to the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Act it is possible that cutting wages for medical and hospital care may have been defended on the ground that better care could be provided for the men on such a basis than they would be apt to secure for themselves. It was a system designed primarily to get the workman back to work again and only incidentally to care for his wife and children. The miner is now protected against accident by the Workmen's Compensation Act and he would prefer to choose and pay his own physician in case of illness. His family, as already indicated, are receiving little help through the company doctors and the preventive features of public health work are being almost wholly neglected. In the course of an investigation into the health

of coal miners, carried on in Ohio, Dr. Emory R. Hayhurst found that contract practice had been almost wholly discontinued in coal mining villages because it was looked upon with disfavor both by the county medical society and by the local unions, and because the doctors themselves regarded it as "not feasible or satisfactory."

It is suggested that the Workmen's Compensation Act of Kentucky be amended to include compensation for occupational diseases as is now the case with the laws of California, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Wisconsin, and that the employers who maintain substitute benefit funds be required under penalty to report annually on the medical arrangements made and on the income and expenditures of such funds, as is now required in Nevada.

## EDUCATION

The public schools in the mining camps of Harlan County are maintained jointly by contributions from the mining companies and by taxation. The arrangement usually followed is for the mining company to give a site for the schoolhouse, to bear one-half or one-third of the cost of construction; to have a voice in the selection of the teachers. The company may also supply extra teachers or increase the pay of teachers, as in one camp where the principal drew \$70 of his salary from county funds and \$40 from the company, and where the grade teacher's pay had been in the same way raised from \$50 to \$60. In seven camps out of twelve where schools were carried on, the company in addition bore the entire cost of extending the school year from the six months allowed for by the county funds, to eight or nine months. At least one company provided free textbooks. The county provides such school equipment as desks and blackboards, assists in the selection of teachers, and supervises the work of the school.

Part of the money contributed by the companies—no one seems to know exactly what proportion—is derived from deductions, or "cuts" arbitrarily taken from the wages of the men. It is not uncommon to find that men are thus being compelled to pay for the support of the schools, whether or not they have children in attendance, but arrangements vary in the different camps.

At Camp No. 8, a "cut" of \$1 for married men, and 75 cents



for bachelors, was made without consulting them. The local union sent a delegation of protest to the county superintendent of schools, but he persuaded them to give the plan a fair trial and the improvement in the school finally convinced them of its value. Two other camps reported that the men had themselves voted a "cut" of 25 cents a month for schools. In Camp No. 14, the salary of the principal is paid by the county, but the salary of his assistant is made up by public contribution, the company paying one-half and the miners the other half. This is voluntary on the part of the miners. In Camp No. 4, only those men who send children to school, pay for the two months extension.

Camp No. 12 is now an independent common graded school district. The mining camp district has been consolidated with the village district and all the school tax voted in the new district goes back into its own schools. Nothing is paid the county and nothing is received from the county except general supervision. A tax of 25 cents has been voted, which is five cents in advance of the county tax. This plan is also to be followed at Lynch, but at Benham the old system of "cuts" is still used.

#### LENGTH OF TERM

Twelve of the 32 mining companies listed in the membership of the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association in May, 1919, had public schools in session upon their ground. Of these, five has a six month's term; two, eight months; one, eight and one-half months; two, nine months; one at a new mine had been opened only two and one-half months, and for one, while it was clear that the school year had been extended beyond the customary six months, it was not definitely stated for how long a period. All these schools were closed from two to three months during 1918-19 on account of the influenza.

#### TRAINING AND SALARY OF TEACHERS

Because of the comparatively high wages which mining camp schools offer for a longer school term than the six months of the ordinary county-supported school, it was not difficult to supply them with teachers distinctly above the average for the county,

so far as training goes. Twenty-four out of 87 Harlan County rural school teachers in 1918-19, according to the statement of the county superintendent of schools, had not gone beyond the 8th grade, and eight of the 24 had not even completed a common school education. Among the 12 teachers in charge of mining camp schools, for whom information was secured, two were normal school graduates, one was a college graduate and had attended four sessions of normal school; three had attended three normal school sessions each and two, two sessions; and three had attended high school for periods of one, two and three years respectively.

Salaries ranged from \$50 a month paid to one teacher, to \$125 paid to one teacher only. The average was \$83. The average salary of teachers in the graded schools of Harlan Town is \$65.

TABLE No. 4

SALARY SCHEDULE OF 12 TEACHERS IN HARLAN COUNTY  
MINING CAMP

1 teacher.....	\$50.00
2 teachers.....	65.00
2 teachers.....	68.00
2 teachers.....	70.00
3 teachers.....	100.00
1 teacher.....	115.00
1 teacher.....	125.00

Schools were closed at the time of our visit and although several teachers were interviewed in their homes, it was naturally impossible to form any judgment as to the quality of instruction given.

### COURSE OF STUDY

All schools followed the state course of study, but none offered instruction in household economics, manual training or agriculture, except at Benham where the girls were given credit by the public school for work in domestic science classes taught by a social worker at the Young Men's Christian Association building.

Eighth grade work was offered in only seven of the twelve schools and the 8th grade pupils formed only 4 per cent of the whole number enrolled. The following table which is based upon figures given by the county superintendent of schools, indicates the startling



DOMESTIC SCIENCE CLASS. UNDER AUSPICES OF COLORED YOUNG MEN'S  
CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, BENHAM.

fact that although there was no evidence of an abnormal age distribution of children in the camps, less than one-fourth of the mining camp children had in 1918-19 progressed farther in school than the 4th grade.

TABLE No. 5

GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF 2,037 MINING CAMP CHILDREN

Grade	No. of Children	Percentage
1st.....	700	34
2nd.....	377	18
3rd.....	242	12
4th.....	292	14
5th.....	192	10
6th.....	55	3
7th.....	103	5
8th.....	76	4
Total.....	2,037	100



## RETARDATION

Every one who was interviewed emphasized the retardation of the children and when one recalls what the school situation was in Old Harlan County, and the high rate of illiteracy in the eastern mountain district of Kentucky generally, their assertions can hardly be doubted. "It is nothing uncommon," said one superintendent, "to have 16, 17 and 18-year old children come into the camp who can neither read nor write." At Benham during 1918-19, thirteen children over ten years of age were unable to read or write when they entered school.

House to house interviews gave us age and grade figures for 82 children taken at random in four mining camps. Using the three year basis for estimating retardation, 46 of these children or 56 per cent were retarded from one to eight years. Seven other children of compulsory school age in the same families had never attended the school at all and only six of those in school had advanced beyond the 4th grade.

TABLE No. 6

## AGE AND GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF 82 MINING CAMP CHILDREN

Age	GRADE						
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Six.....	4						
Seven.....	7						
Eight.....	6	5					
Nine.....	4	1	1				
Ten.....	2	2	5	2			
Eleven.....	3	3	2	4			
Twelve.....	2	3	3	5			
Thirteen.....	1	..	1	1	1	1	
Fourteen.....	..	4	3				
Fifteen.....	..	1	..	1	1		
Sixteen.....	..	..	..	..	3		
Total.....	29	19	15	13	5	1	
Total Retarded	12	13	9	7	5		

In one small camp within a mile of Harlan Town a complete census was taken of the children. There were only 25 houses in the camp and although the numbers were naturally very small, the following table is of some value as illustrative of typical conditions in certain recently opened mining territory. This camp had no school of its own and the children had either to go to Harlan or to the school at Camp Number 7.

TABLE No. 7

## GRADE AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF 15 CHILDREN IN CAMP No. 9

Sex	Age	Grade	School Attended
M	6		Never attended
M	6		Entered primer class at Camp No. 7, but sent home by teacher. No room for him.
F	7		Never attended
M	8	1st	Harlan
F	8	2nd.	Harlan
F	8	1st.	Camp No. 7
F	8	2nd.	Camp No. 7
F	8	In 1st grade, but has never entered school in this camp, though here two months.	
M	9	In 1st grade, but has been out of school for 9 months; never entered here.	
M	11	1st.	Camp No. 7
F	12	In 1st grade, but has been out of school for 8 months; never entered here.	
M	12	2nd.	Pine Mountain Settlement School
M	12	In 3rd grade at Harlan, but out of school for 2 months on account of eyes.	
M	14	2nd	Camp No. 7
F	15	In 4th grade, but has not attended for a year and a half. Mother sick.	

A 16-year old boy from this camp was attending school at Harlan where he was enrolled in the 5th grade. Until October 7, 1918, he had been employed as wagon driver at the mine. On that day he was run over by a car in the mine and his leg was broken. At the time of our visit, in May, the boy was still unable to go back to work and with the \$9.40 a week which he drew as compensation for the injury, he was pluckily trying to get a little more education.

The only high school in the county is that at Harlan. The principal reports that during the school year 1918-19, five children from mining camp communities outside the city limits were enrolled in high school classes.

Benham plans to offer 9th grade work next year and Lynch will eventually provide high school training for both white and colored children.

The statement was generally made that few children of miners were sent away to school either for grade or high school work.

## SCHOOL BUILDINGS

### SANITATION AND EQUIPMENT

School buildings were inspected in ten camps. Certain outstanding facts were true of all. None had adequate space for playgrounds and none had any play apparatus at all; none had adjustable desks, although the patent single desk was usually found; no floors had been oiled and dry sweeping with its accompanying dust nuisance prevailed. There were no drinking fountains and so far as could be learned only the common drinking cup was to be found. All but two schools subjected the sight to a severe strain by cross lighting; none of the few shades found at the windows were in good condition. The stoves, upon which all but one school-house depended for heat, were unjacketed and usually stood in the center of the floor with desks crowded about them. The toilets were invariably in bad condition.

Typical of the worst of these conditions was a building which was supposed to house a school population of 137 children. The door leading into the one large school room was found open, although school had been closed for six months. The floor was filthy and



torn textbooks lay scattered about in the dirt. The desks, which were of the patent non-adjustable type, were not fastened to the floor, but were piled together in one corner. Two unjacketed stoves stood in the center of the room. There were windows on three sides and the arrangement of the blackboards indicated that the children sat directly facing the light. The floor had never been oiled. A



A MOUNTAIN SCHOOL.

This building is better than many still found in the Hill Country.

rickety table was provided for the teacher's desk and a few cheap unframed pictures hung crookedly upon the walls. The outhouses were open surface privies without pits. The door was gone from one; the seats had no lids; the floor was covered with excreta. Both toilets were located about 100 feet down hill from the well. The well was driven, of unknown depth, with a wooden crub of rough boards insufficiently protected from surface pollution. It

is not strange that many parents shared the feeling of one mother of four children who said: "When we came here, seemed like it was such a turrible large place they'd orter have a good school and I was plumb disgusted when I found out what it was."

Even the best building seen suffered from certain bad features. This schoolhouse stood on a hillside so steep that there was no level space for a playground. The building was well constructed on a concrete foundation, was plastered inside, and was heated by a hot air furnace. A large central hallway connected the four class rooms, two of which opened together by folding doors thus forming an auditorium capable of seating 200 people. Two of the rooms were properly lighted from the left side and the rear, and the two others could easily have been so arranged that the light fell from the left, as it should, instead of from the right, as it did. All were equipped with single non-adjustable patent desks. Good pictures hung upon the walls, a flag staff stood in the front yard, a cabinet organ and a small library helped to make the building attractive. Sanitary toilets of an approved type had been provided, but at the time of inspection they were in bad condition. There were no lids for the seats and the floor was extremely dirty. One building with a partition was used for both boys and girls.

### HEALTH WORK

Health work was chiefly conspicuous by its absence. Medical or nursing care had not been provided for any of the school children in the mining camps visited except at Benham, where the company doctor had given all the white children a routine physical examination and a trachoma specialist from the United States Public Health Service had inspected eyes. During the preceding school year the Young Men's Christian Association had brought on a physician from Louisville who had examined eyes, ears, nose and throat. The visiting nurses employed by the International Harvester Company at Benham feel that they are accomplishing practically the same work as school nurses, since they care for any sick children referred to them by parents or school teachers. This may take care of contagious diseases or actual illness, but it gives too little opportunity for the preventive work which ought to be constantly under way, especially with the shifting population of a mining town.

## ADEQUACY OF SCHOOLS PROVIDED

When it is remembered that between 1910 and 1919 the public school population of Harlan County more than doubled and this in spite of the fact that the upper age limit was changed from 20 to 18, it can easily be seen that the construction of school houses to keep pace with this increase has been no easy task. In discussing the adequacy of the provision of public schools for the mining camps of Harlan County it must also be remembered that the camp settlements are close together and that several of them run into the outskirts of Harlan Town. For industrial purposes, they are separate communities but they have no political organization and for governmental purposes they are simply parts of the county. It is quite to be expected that the camps which are close to Harlan Town should send children to the city schools and that there would be combinations among adjoining camps. The consolidation of schools ought to mean better opportunities for the children. Accordingly, when the statement is made that five of the sixteen mining villages visited have no schools at all, either for the white or the colored children, it does not necessarily mean that those children are deprived of all opportunities for education. It may mean, however, that unduly heavy difficulties are placed in the way of their getting it.

Camp No. 7 maintained a school which received children only up to the 3rd grade. The older boys and girls went to Harlan. They were obliged to walk down the railroad tracks and to cross several trestles on their way. They left home shortly after seven in the morning and returned about five in the afternoon. The trains ran a little too late in the morning and a little too early at night to enable them to ride and no free transportation scheme had been developed. A woman who sent two little girls, said she had not an easy moment until they were back at night. A miner said the boys were so rough that "everybody dodges when the children go by to school;" they "rock" each other and the passers-by and "fight all the way down the track." The company doctor had just told one colored girl that she was not physically able to walk so far and she had already dropped out of school. A white boy who would finish the 3rd grade in May, had a foot so badly crippled by infantile paralysis that he was unable to walk far with-



out falling. His parents were planning to move to Harlan in the fall so that he might continue in school there, but the other children whose parents were indifferent or were unable to move continued to "walk the ties" in good weather and bad.

In Camp No. 1, rather than allow the children to walk a mile up the track to the nearest school, the parents decided to start a subscription school. The miners who were willing gave \$1 a month from their wages and the company gave dollar for dollar. This school was in session four months of last year.

Overcrowding within the building was common. At one camp where 137 children were reported by the school census taker, a one-room building was provided within which two teachers struggled to maintain order. At another, two rooms were the only accommodation for 147 children. At a third, which prides itself upon its good schools, 366 children were enrolled under five teachers, an average of 70 children to the room. The average attendance however, was only 191 which brought down the numbers to 38 to the room.

Combinations among camps also produced certain difficulties. To the one building at Camp No. 7, which received only white children of the 3rd grade and under, came all the little people from two neighboring mines. Last year the room was so overcrowded that the teacher sent home several of the younger children, saying the county superintendent had told her to do so. The mothers of four of these children, who were interviewed during our visit, expressed their regret at this situation.

In another camp the school was extended two months by "cuts" from the miners' wages. Children from a second camp attended throughout the school year and also during the extra two months, although their parents were not assessed for the upkeep of the school during the period of extension.

## NEGRO SCHOOLS

Inadequate as the present schoolhouses were to meet the needs of the white children, the situation was even worse with regard to the negroes. In the small camps, comparatively few negroes were employed and there were not enough colored children to warrant starting a school. Consequently the little ones stayed out

altogether and the older group walked to Harlan or not, as they pleased.

In Camp No. 7, ten colored children of school age were found, four not attending school at all, six walking to the colored school at Harlan, a distance of approximately two miles. One colored woman had taught her little girl at home until she was ready to enter the 4th grade, but the other 12- and 14-year old children were in the 2nd and 3rd grades. In Camp No. 3, where 12 colored children were without any school facilities at all in 1918-19, the superintendent of the mine had set aside an old dwelling to be used as their schoolhouse another year. In 1918-19, the county superintendent reported that there were only three colored teachers in the county, outside of Lynch and Benham.

At Lynch one colored school with two teachers was conducted in temporary quarters. The school census at Benham listed 135 colored children, but the average attendance at school was only 65. There were two teachers, both well trained and well paid. Plans were on foot for the erection of a \$6,000 brick schoolhouse which is to have adequate provision for playgrounds, but the present school was conducted in the colored church building which is poorly equipped and has no playground.

There were in 1918-19 six colored children in the 8th grade at Benham. It will be impossible for them to continue their education without leaving home, for Harlan County has no high school which negro children may attend.

#### ENFORCEMENT OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION LAW

Since only one of the mining camps visited is incorporated as an independent school district, the other schools must depend upon the county superintendent for assistance in enforcing the compulsory education law. Harlan County has no county truant officer, but in 1918-19 the superintendent divided the county into six educational divisions, selected the best school in each division and made the teacher of this school attendance-supervisor of the district. Service was upon a volunteer basis but the superintendent estimated that during the first month of the school year, each school was visited two or three times. Then came the influenza and all

schools were closed. When the "ban" was lifted, two or three months later, children and schools were thoroughly demoralized and little effort was made to enforce attendance.

The percentages of daily attendance based upon enrollment, as entered in the records of the county superintendent need to be studied with thought of the shifting population in mind. According to those figures, the average daily attendance for the children of 12 mining camp communities was 62 per cent. The children who were enrolled attended less than two-thirds of the time, and, as already indicated, many never entered school at all.

So far as we could learn, Benham was the only camp where the compulsory attendance law had been invoked. There, warrants were sworn out against 13 parents, charging<sup>1</sup> them with failing to send their children to school, and they were tried before the local justice of the peace. All demanded a jury trial and when the hearing resulted in a "hung" jury, all were dismissed.

#### ATTITUDE OF PARENTS

The comments made by miners and their wives upon the school situation were at times caustic. Indifferent as a few members of the labor group seemed to be, there was evident among the great majority a pathetic eagerness that their children should have the advantages of an education which had many times been denied their parents. But they wished it to be an education which meant something. Said one mother: "We don't force our children to go to school because we ain't had no good teacher and if your children don't learn nothing they're better off out of school than in." A Scotch woman spoke with pride of the excellent schooling she had enjoyed in the grades at Edinburgh. "If you stayed out of school a single day there," she said, "they came and got you. And here we haven't even had a school in session all year." The youth and inexperience of certain teachers did not pass unremarked. "Yes, she probably did the best she could," the mothers would say, "but she was just a little young thing."

Members of the field staff attended a union meeting where some 80 men, both white and colored, were present, and talked with the men about the school situation. While union sentiment was strongly against "cuts" for medical care, everyone was willing to be assessed



for the upkeep of the schools, whether or not he had children in attendance.

At a meeting of the Industrial Council at Benham, schools were under discussion. Said a miner, "We want the best there is for our children. If the best teachers are in New York, send to New York for them. We are willing to pay."

### RECOMMENDATIONS

At bottom, the failure of most mining camp schools in Harlan County to get the children into school in the first place and to hold them, once they are enrolled, goes back to defects in the educational system of the state. The education of the young is a public responsibility and it should not be necessary for the mining companies, by deductions from the wages of their employees and by contributions from the management, to supplement the county funds in order to provide decent schooling for the children of the community. When taxes in Kentucky are equitably assessed and when the school funds are distributed upon the proper basis, so undemocratic an arrangement as company subsidized schools need no longer be followed. When this is done, one of the chief difficulties in the way of consolidation will be removed. But pending the arrival of that much to be desired time, it is probable that the present system must be continued. Are there ways in which the county and the companies, working together, may improve the schools of Harlan County?

The first and greatest need is the appointment of a county truant officer with assistants sufficient in number adequately to cover the county, who should be rather visiting teachers with a social viewpoint than persons of the deputy sheriff order, and who would concern themselves, not only with getting truant and non-attendant children into school, but with removing the causes of their absence. The salaries offered should be large enough to attract workers of the highest type. Harlan County can well afford to make such an investment and if its fiscal court has the wisdom to do so, it will be repaid a hundredfold.

In the second place, those concerned with the schools need to realize that they are dealing with abnormal communities, quite different from the villages where men own their homes and work at

different trades and where the children have varied household tasks and pleasures. When the schools are closed, the child in the average mining camp has very little to do. It is not strange that he frequently gets into mischief. His thwarted play instincts must find vent somewhere. The absolute monotony of life in a place where all the men do the same thing, where all the houses are alike and where there is little or no natural opportunity for wholesome recreation is a factor which must be seriously considered in planning the school work.

At a conference recently called by the Federal Bureau of Education to discuss the best kind of schools for mining towns, two propositions which received much favorable attention were the development of all-year schools and the introduction of the work-study-play plan. The suggestion of the all-year school brings with it the need of erecting simple residences for the teachers, so that they may really share the life of the community for twelve months of the year. The work-study-play plan is an adaptation of the Gary system whereby the child spends a part of his school day at academic work, a part at manual work and a part in free play. This plan should be followed throughout the year but when school is conducted for twelve months, the proportion of time given to recreation and handwork should be increased during the summer. It goes without saying that if the county public health unit is created, the sanitation of schoolhouses and the medical inspection of school children will receive attention.

The school buildings should be so planned that they can be used by adults for night classes, clubs, motion picture shows, dances and other forms of community education and recreation. Harlan County has now a serious problem of adult illiteracy to overcome; there is every indication that it will soon have the problems of Americanization as well. The public school is the logical center of attack for both, and all new construction should be designed accordingly. The schoolhouses need not be overelaborate or expensive, but they should be capable of adaption to the various purposes indicated and such others as may from time to time arise. In spite of the obvious advantages of consolidation, it will probably be true that a simple building, easily accessible, will prove more valuable than one more completely equipped at a greater distance from the homes of the people.

## CHILD LABOR

While there is practical unanimity of opinion on the value of good schools, the corollary of that assumption, which is that children should be in school and not at work, is not so generally accepted. The United Mine Workers of America as an official group heartily endorse the provisions of the federal child labor law, but a few individual members of local unions and many non-union men are not in entire sympathy with the law, as applied to their own families. "Boys are better off at work," was the general opinion, freely expressed.

The demand for child labor in mines is greater than is generally supposed.\* Boys of 12 and 14 make good "trappers," for the task of guarding the trapdoors by which ventilation is regulated is easily within their strength, although the men generally regard it as the least desirable kind of work from the standpoint of physical comfort. Boys are also employed as "greasers" or "couplers" but by far the greater number seen in mines were assisting their fathers in loading coal.

The federal child labor law prohibits the employment of children under 16 in mines or quarries and imposes a tax of 10 per cent over all other taxes on the net profit of mines employing children in violation of this ruling. Prosecution is in the hands of the Department of the Treasury.

The child labor law of Kentucky prohibits the employment of children under 16 years in any capacity in, about, or in connection with any mine, coke oven, or quarry, and specifies that this provision shall be enforced by the state inspector of mines and his assistants, who shall prosecute for violations. Truancy officers are authorized, under the law, to visit mines, as well as factories; however, no reports of any visits by them could be had, except in one case, and a lack of co-operation in enforcing the child labor law is apparent.

The superintendent of schools and the compulsory attendance officer at Harlan Town both testified that boys under 16 are regularly employed in the mines about this city. The records kept by the attendance officer were seen and the cause of absence from school in a number of cases was "Working in . . . . . mines."

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\* Most of the following section is quoted verbatim from the report on child labor by Mrs. L. B. Bush published in *Child Welfare in Kentucky*.



The superintendent of schools said he had made an honest effort to secure the co-operation of the state authorities in the enforcement of the law. He had on file in his office much correspondence which clearly substantiated this assertion. In 1917, the superintendent wrote the state inspector of mines as follows: "I am writing to inform you that children below the age of 16 are working in the mines in this section." The inspector answered and expressed surprise, referring the superintendent to the assistant mine inspector of that district. Immediately the assistant inspector was advised of the situation and replied, calling the attention of the superintendent to the scarcity of labor, but promising to look into the matter. Nothing more was heard from him, so a year later the superintendent again wrote, renewing his request and naming the operators violating the law. This time he was advised to call on an inspector recently appointed and living in the town of Harlan. A letter was at once addressed to this officer, but no answer was ever received.

The investigator sought an interview with the local inspector, who explained his work regarding safety appliances, drainage, etc. He said that he inspected for child labor and during his experience had put out of the mines some half-dozen boys under age. He had not made any prosecutions for these offenses and had not seen any boys for four or five months.

The following morning the investigators visited a mine within walking distance of Harlan, arriving at the hour the men went to work, and went in with them. The following boys were seen at work on this occasion:

John.....	14 years	Driver
Edgar.....	14 years	Trapper
Robert.....	15 years	Driver
Major.....	14 years	Trapper
Alfred.....	14 years	Loading coal with father
Alvin.....	12 years	Loading coal with father
Richard.....	13 years	Loading coal with father
George.....	13 years	Loading coal
Clarence.....	15 years	Loading coal
George.....	14 years	Loading coal (was formerly trapper)

At the close of the day the foreman said that the father of Alfred and Alvin had earned \$14 that day by using his two sons.

The father of Richard, age 13, said his son had been helping him since he was 8 years old. In the camp or village here three women admitted that their small sons were employed in the mine. These are not included in the list above.

There was not an affidavit on file at the office, nor an age certificate, and practically half of these boys testified that they had been employed in other mines in the community, giving their names. This was borne out by the records of the truancy officer.

In three other camps, children whose parents stated they were under 16, were reported to be regularly employed in the mines.

On passing beneath the tippie at a fourth mine, agents of the Committee caught sight of a little boy so small that his head was barely visible above the top of the freight car in which he was shovelling coal. He gave his name as Will B——, said he was past 16, although he admitted that he was only in the 2nd grade, and stated that he had been working on the tippie for one month. A miner standing near promptly informed us that the boy had been working over three months and various boys interviewed later, confirmed this statement and said the lad was not yet 16.

Charles, then 12, and in the 3rd grade, according to his mother, was trying very hard to get a job in the mines "because Will works." "That little peanut!" scoffed Charles, "he ain't 16!" But Charles' brother John, now 18, who has been the mainstay of the family since he was 11, thought differently of the value of child labor. "Yes, they had laws," said his mother, "but his paw got them to let the boy go in with him." "He got hurt, you see," explained John. "A mule drug him about two hundred foot an' after that he couldn't push any more, so they let me help him. I can read and write a little but I've never had much show." This boy had looked forward to being drafted, in the hope that army service would give him an opportunity for further education.

At the same mine a woman interviewed in her home on May 8th, gave the age of her son as 15 and said he would not be 16 for another month. For about two weeks the boy had been employed as a trapper at \$2 a day.

While all the mine managers clearly understood the terms of the federal law, they did not seem so familiar with the state law. Thus at one large corporation camp, where no evidence of the employment of children in the mines was observed a number of

young boys were regularly employed to carry water to a gang of construction men. This practice was stopped by the officials of the company when their attention was called to it.

In the same camp a 13-year old boy in the 5th grade was found selling ice cream cones in the motion picture theatre. His father was a skilled workman drawing good pay. The boy earned 50 cents a night and was supposed to remain until the show closed, about 11 o'clock. A bowling alley employed two little boys, 9 and 12 years of age, to set up pins. They said in the presence of the manager that they worked until 11 o'clock at night. A second visit was made and another boy 10 years of age had in the meantime been taken on.

Small boys delivered papers in at least three camps.

There were no opportunities for employment for girls except at domestic service in the boarding houses or in the families of the more highly paid employees, and few were qualified to hold such positions or wanted them. Early marriage offered much more attractive possibilities.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

The standard set by both the federal and the Kentucky child labor laws are high enough to give ample protection to children if properly enforced. The state department of labor as well as the mine inspectors should be empowered to inspect mines for violations of the child labor laws and the staff should be increased sufficiently to permit frequent inspections. The suggested enrichment of the curriculum of the public schools should also aid in diminishing the illegal employment of children by making school more attractive than work.

### RECREATION

The physical limitations which the sites of Harlan County mining camps place upon the outdoor play of children have already been indicated. Lack of level ground, the proximity of railroad tracks, small yards and houses crowded together do not make for freedom. Indeed, the listless inactivity of the women and children is one of the most pitiful impressions which the visitor carries away with him. Life in a mining camp takes away many of the normal



tasks with which people have been familiar in their farm homes and it gives them no wholesome substitute. Loafing about the company store is a poor exchange for roaming the hills. The schools have failed completely to stimulate or direct the child's impulse to play. None of them have playgrounds, apparatus or instructors qualified to lead group games. This is especially to be deplored in Kentucky mining camps because many of the mountain children are individualists born, and have never come into contact with the socializing influences of team play. A man's sport in Old Harlan



JIGGING IT OFF TO THE MUSIC OF A  
MOUNTAIN FIDDLE.

County too frequently meant moonshine and shooting and the boys early became familiar with these standards. Even today attempts at sport sometimes degenerate into free for all fights. A few years ago the county sheriff was killed at a ball game where he was trying to enforce good order. On a smaller scale the boys imitate this lawlessness. A well meaning mining superintendent in Harlan County built a merry-go-round for the children of his camp and left them to enjoy it unsupervised; the result was riot and debris—the strongest demonstration of the need for continued work along recreation lines; although the superinten-

dent, naturally, could hardly view the matter in that light.

Only three of the fourteen small camps had baseball diamonds and the boys had access to those only when the men did not want them. A fourth camp had plowed up its baseball field and its tennis courts for potatoes, during the war. One croquet ground was seen. These were literally all the provisions for non-commercial recreations to be found in any of the small camps, unless one includes a poorly selected school library of some 200 volumes which was locked up in the schoolhouse during the entire vacation period.



BASEBALL DIAMOND, LYNCH.

The small boys of course, made opportunities for themselves; they went swimming in the polluted waters of the "Fork" and with invincible optimism spent hours in fishing where no fish were. They played ball in the so-called streets at considerable risk to themselves, the bystanders and the windows. They accompanied their parents on those wildly exciting excursions known as "riding the train" when the whole family would solemnly enter the accommodation coach, journey to the end of the line and without leaving the coach come back again, covered with cinders but satiated with the wares of the "candy butcher."

The girls said that about all they had to do when their household work was over, was to crochet or walk to town. There were no decent dances which they could attend and the indecent Forty-Niners were a great temptation. In several camps dances had been forbidden altogether because of the disorder which almost always accompanied them.

One demure looking damsel of 15, when asked what she did for her good times, replied briskly, "I take my pleasure in serving the

Lord," and it is certain that the only social enjoyment which comes to many women and girls is that which they gain from some form of religious service. The religion of the mountains is apt to be of a highly emotional sort. The Holy Roller and other peculiar sects thrive and the ineradicable love for the dramatic finds some satisfaction in watching a sinner "Take a big through," as the process of conversion is called. Baptism is always by immersion and the baptising is a social event of the first importance to which people come from miles about. It is accordingly a real deprivation for the people of the ten camps to have no regular church service of any kind. Of the four camps where services were conducted only two had resident pastors. These four and one additional camp maintained Sunday Schools which met in the schoolhouse. Said one forlorn woman, "I ain't heerd a kind word since I been here; I ain't seen a church house; and I ain't seen or heerd a preacher."

The commercial amusements were limited to motion picture shows found in three camps and planned for in two others, pool rooms found in one camp and an occasional traveling carnival.

The motion picture theatres were commonly open three nights a week, Monday, Thursday and Saturday; prices were 10 and 15 cents. One theatre had a balcony to which negroes were admitted. Many children attended these shows regularly and a number of them in addition went in to Harlan theatres. One group of three small boys went to Harlan every Thursday night to see the Wild West serial films. If they went oftener than once a week they said they could not remember them all—"it gives us too much to think about."

The class of film shown at the camps, according to teachers, miners and managers, is very fair; comedy films and serials were the most popular, and the children were quite familiar with the leading actors in both fields. In Harlan Town a censorship board was established last year by action of the city council. It is composed of five women. The ordinance provides that this board shall examine and pass on all picture films before public presentation and shall eliminate anything tending to be of an immoral or improper nature. The board, however, does not view the pictures before they are shown. Films arrive in Harlan only a few hours before they are to be exhibited. Rejection then would leave the proprietor in a position of having to pay for a picture for which he would be



unable to secure a substitute; very likely he could not open his theatre at all that evening. These conditions of film distribution may have helped determine the policy of the board. The policy adopted is to make it plain to the proprietors that they must select and insist upon getting good pictures from the distributors. A Harlan pastor said, "The mere fact that there is a board and that these women have access to the shows at any time keeps a fairly high standard of film showing." The mayor concurred in this opinion.

Pool rooms had been closed by the manager in one camp because of the gambling and fights which took place there and in the one village where they were still to be found they bore a very bad reputation. The Kentucky state law provides that no minor shall be allowed in a pool room without written authorization or without parent or guardian, but the law is generally disregarded. Equally bad were the reports given about the traveling carnivals which from time to time passed through Harlan County. The following excerpts from a recent report on recreation in Kentucky\* give an accurate picture of the carnival in a mining town.

"A typical carnival—note the quotation marks—is 'a grand aggregation of high grade canvas and platform shows.' There are also the gambling stalls. Thirty were counted with a single carnival. The gambling games and devices are many and various; some involve a bit of skill, as in throwing balls at dummies or pitching rings over jack knives, but in general the element of skill is slight or supposititious. The wheels usually are gambling devices in the strictest technical interpretation of the term; no skill whatever is involved and the losers get nothing at all. The losses of patrons are enormous in the total during the week's stay of a carnival in a town and frequently fall in places where they can not well be afforded. Some of the carnivals because of the immorality connected with them, may be fitly described as traveling bawdy houses, unlicensed, unregulated, uncontrolled. Prostitutes are either attracted to these carnivals or permitted to accompany them, leaving behind them a trail of physical as well as moral contamination. According to informants in whom the writer has confidence, boys 12 to 15 years old in Kentucky cities and towns have contracted

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\* Report by Raymond B. Fuller in *Child Welfare in Kentucky*.

venereal diseases from carnival women. In a mining camp the writer was told by the camp doctor and the mine superintendent that shortly after the arrival of a carnival last year a large number of men were incapacitated for work because of venereal diseases.

"Besides the immoral women accompanying the carnivals or attracted to the show grounds, there are in many cases other disreputables of divers sort, such as pickpockets and bootleggers. The carnival grounds seem to be a natural rendezvous of these folk and the whole motley crew of roughs and rowdies; once in a while a shooting affair takes place.

"The carnival is a great event in the lives of hundreds whose opportunity for amusement or recreation is otherwise meagre. Whole families attend every night. At one carnival the writer saw a child of 5 who had been brought by his parents five evenings that week; and twice the trio stayed until midnight. School superintendents report an increase of truancy when a carnival is in town. At one carnival in the evening the writer found six boys who were confirmed truants."

#### RECREATION AT LYNCH AND BENHAM

At Lynch and Benham, definite provision had been made for recreation in planning the towns and in engaging the staff.

Benham was unique in the approximate equality of recreation facilities afforded the negroes and the whites. Each race had its own Young Men's Christian Association building, which was the center of all social activities in the community, and each had two welfare workers, a man and a woman, who gave their full time to the services. The buildings were practically identical in equipment, except that the rooms used by the white employees were somewhat larger as they needed to be to accommodate the larger numbers found in the camp. All the recreation in Benham, except that afforded by an occasional traveling show or carnival, was under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association.

The Wisconsin Steel Company furnished the buildings and the sites and contributed \$75 monthly for the upkeep of the two branches. The State Young Men's Christian Association operated them and made up any deficit at the end of the year. No membership dues were charged, but the men paid for the use of the various facilities.

Ice-cream, soda-water, pop, candy, fruit, cigarettes, newspapers and magazines and the usual accessories were on sale at reasonable prices. This part of the undertaking was expected to clear expenses and a commercial spirit was rather evident in the management.

The buildings contained assembly room, with motion picture screen and stage, club rooms, bowling alleys, pool room, barber shop and shower baths. The assembly room in the white branch seated 150; in the colored branch, 100. Motion pictures were shown on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights. Ten and 15 cents was charged for admission. On Sunday afternoon two reels were shown free. The Association had an understanding with all the film supply houses that if the pictures did not "come clean," the contract was to be cancelled. The same films were shown at both white and colored assembly rooms.

On Sunday forenoon, a church service was held for the whites under the direction of the Y. M. C. A. secretary, with a speaker from outside whenever available and a song service was conducted at 2:15 each Sunday afternoon. There was no regular church



FLAG DRILL, GIRLS' CLUB, BENHAM.





A GARDEN FESTIVAL. COLORED CHILDREN'S CLUB, BENHAM.

organization in the camp for the white people. The Association secretary planned to start a "Liberty Church," along the lines of the undenominational churches of the munition cities, and at the time of our visit was negotiating with a prospective pastor. The colored people had a resident pastor and a church building which was used as a school during the week. Both groups had well-attended Sunday schools which met regularly.

The hotel at Benham, which was built and is operated by the company, had an attractive parlor with a good dancing floor, a piano and a Victrola. Weekly dances were held here for the clerical and office employees. No miners were admitted.

A large athletic field in the center of the village gave good opportunity for sports of various sorts and it seemed to be generally used. The baseball diamond was free to all but the two tennis courts were reserved for the office force. There was a band stand and a good band was said to have been organized among the employees.

The colored worker had both small boys and girls in a singing class which met weekly, and gave 24 small boys military drill in the

afternoons after school, using wands they made for themselves and utilizing discharged soldiers among the miners for drill masters.

Her book of games was in constant use at the school and at the Association building, and the colored people had many private parties in their own homes where they played these simple games, danced and sang, "spoke pieces" and "listened to the Victrola." Birthday parties were especially favored.

The singing classes were an important feature of the work among the negroes. A choral club of 35 men and women met weekly. They were attempting nothing ambitious but sang humns, war songs and simple music, and anyone who wanted to sing was welcome. The children were given an hour's instruction once a week in school and those who liked came to the Association building every Thursday afternoon for another hour.

Two cooking classes of eight girls each had been organized for the colored girls, one for the 12- to 16-year old group and the other for the 8- to 12-year olds. The Association kitchen had an electric plate and a small electric stove, dishes and kitchen utensils. The



A FAVORITE RECIPE WITH THE GIRLS' COOKING CLASS AT BENHAM.

instructor planned in addition to the work here to give demonstration lessons in the kitchens of the girls' own homes with such equipment as they had there. Her cooking classes often prepared and served simple refreshments to the parents who came to the auditorium for an evening literary program given by the children.

A sewing machine had just arrived and four girls who had machines at home were learning to use it.

The white worker, who was a graduate of the Young Women's Christian Association Training School at Chicago, used the Camp Fire and Blue Bird forms of organization for her girls' clubs, thus combining recreational and educational purposes, for she taught cooking and sewing to all groups. The Association building for the whites has a good domestic science equipment on a larger scale than that furnished the colored girls.

On the day of our visit, a group of Camp Fire girls and some of the older Blue Birds were starting on an all-day hike to the Pine Mountain Settlement School.

So far as the machinery of play is concerned, the girls, the men, and the older boys seemed to be fairly well taken care of, but several persons mentioned the lack of suitable recreation for the little boys and they, according to the camp constable, were the only ones who ever gave trouble by the commission of lawless acts.

## LYNCH

At Lynch, the plans of the company called for the erection of two amusement houses, one in the upper part of Lynch and one in the lower. In the upper district, a two-story house built for two families had been converted into a temporary moving picture theatre and pictures were shown each afternoon and evening. This house was leased and the prices charged were those usually charged for the same pictures in the cities of the state. The superintendent stipulated that the prices might be the same but no more. The picture seen at time of visit was a very good film starring Douglas Fairbanks. He was popular, the manager said, and added that the most popular pictures were those showing scenes and customs of the West.

The building planned for the lower part of town had been completed at a cost of \$60,000. It was called the Victory Building. It was a three-story structure. The first floor contained two



restaurants, one for the white and one for the colored, both using the same kitchen. The same food was served and the same prices prevailed. One-half of this floor was given over to the theatre. The second floor contained an up-to-date pool room and bowling alley and the gallery of the theatre. Half of the third floor had been made into a dance hall with two good dressing rooms, one for men and one for women, provided with lavatories. The other half of the third floor contained a lodge room 35 x 60 feet and off this room were a number of dressing rooms and a reception room.

The other amusement building will cost \$125,000. The plan will be the same as the first. The foundation of this building had been laid and work was progressing rapidly at the time of our visit.

The Victory Building was leased to a group of men who operated the restaurants, the pool room and bowling alley, and the theatre and dance hall. The contracts were so written that the superintendent might remove any of these managers within five days. The lodge room was rented for \$4.50, each order paying this monthly rent.

One man rented and managed theatre and dance hall. The weekly program at the theatre included:

Tuesdays and Thursdays...	William Fox pictures are shown, Thursdays having all comedy
Monday.....	Serial with three reels, comedy
Wednesday.....	Serial with three reels, comedy
Friday.....	World Features
Sunday.....	World Features
Saturday.....	Big Feature Rights

The manager stated that very few children visited the picture show, the largest attendance which he recollected being 60. The galleries were reserved for the negroes.

The dance hall was sublet on Friday nights to a colored man who had entire charge of the colored dances. Admission was 50 cents for the single men and 75 cents for a couple. The manager gave a dance for white people every Thursday night, admission \$1.50 and \$2.00. The miners' families were not admitted to these dances, or to the parties given every Saturday evening in the hotel. Admission to the hotel dances cost often as much as \$3.50.

There were to be two baseball parks, one in the lower part of town and one in the upper, costing approximately \$15,000 and a park playground fully equipped near the center of the town. The plan called for five tennis courts: two at the hotel, one at the superintendent's residence, one in the lower town and one in the upper.

Three temporary church buildings were in use. The plans of the company called for three permanent structures, Catholic, Protestant white and Protestant colored. In each case the company will give the land for the building, deeding it to the church, and liberal donations have also been promised the churches. All three churches had resident pastors and were holding regular services.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

The problem of furnishing recreation of the right sort to the children of the mining camps can probably best be approached by those changes in the public school program which have already been suggested. A resourceful teacher will overcome the disadvantages of site and will teach the children how to make their own playground equipment if none is provided for them.

But it is good for old and young to play together and as an additional agency for developing community good times, the local home service branch of the Red Cross might well be utilized. The miners of this county almost without exception contributed a day's work or two to the Red Cross and did it gladly at a time when money was badly needed. Often the only touch of color in a bare little house would be the Red Cross membership card upon the wall. To such a group, rightfully proud of the share they had in supporting the Red Cross during the war, the home service worker may come, not as an outsider, but as one of themselves, and if she is tactful and sympathetic, she may gradually stimulate the inarticulate to expression and the recreationally starved to a satisfaction of their normal longing for pleasure. It may be done through a revival of such old time festivities as the quilting-bee, or the apple-paring, or the barbecue, or by the introduction of modern innovations like the motion picture or the pageant, but however it is done, if it is to be wholly successful, it must be what the people want and not something which is forced on them from outside. The Pine Mountain

Settlement has conclusively demonstrated how rich a recreational life may be provided for both children and adults without an elaborate equipment or the expenditure of large sums of money.

## DELINQUENCY AND DEPENDENCY

Such juvenile delinquency as was reported to the investigators was directly connected with the lack of recreational facilities. For the most part, it was confined to petty thieving and window smashing by idle boys, but an occasional case of serious sex immorality among young girls was also mentioned. Three instances of girls with illegitimate babies were reported from two camps. In two other camps, it was claimed that girls of immoral character were employed at the company boarding house. In general, however, so far as the investigators could learn in the short time spent in the field, there was comparatively little open or clandestine prostitution among the young girls in the mining camps.

But in that No Man's land which borders upon camp property but is not under the control of the mining company, some very unsavory situations were alleged to exist. On the edge of one camp was located a pool room, lunch counter and barber shop, all in one building and all operated by a barber who was said to be living with a woman not his wife. Adjacent to this building was a grocery store run by a woman who bore a bad reputation in the camp and who was said to be under indictment for bootlegging. It was claimed that a number of the young women of the camp frequented this grocery store and that women from elsewhere often stayed there. A girl of 12 was alleged to have been abused by a man while in company with a woman who was stopping at this place. About the two stores nightly gatherings took place in which there was a great deal of disturbance, shooting, fighting and gambling.

Cases of dependency and neglect are often shunted off by the mines into this No Man's land. Repeatedly the investigators were told of instances where women with young children had, after the husband's death, been compelled to move out of the camps, in order to make room for incoming workmen.

The real disadvantage which children sometimes suffer from



the lack of any representative of law and order in the community who is not directly connected with the management of the mines is illustrated by the story of three little children, 12, 10 and 8 years of age, whose mother died two years ago, leaving them to the care of an ignorant and neglectful father. None of them went to school—the 12-year old girl had attended only eight months in her entire life—and they were ragged, dirty and generally miserable. It was clearly a case for court action. But no one connected with the company wished to run the risk of antagonizing other workmen at a time of labor shortage by filing a petition against the father in the county juvenile court and there was no one not connected with the company in the camp. So the father was ordered to leave town and was permitted to take all three children with him to a wretched little shack “up the Hollow” where they were living at the time of our visit, in a deplorable state of neglect.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

The state of Kentucky has endeavored to guarantee protection to any unfortunate child within her borders by conferring upon the judges of her county courts, known when acting in this capacity as juvenile courts, full jurisdiction over dependent, neglected or delinquent children and by giving them the right to appoint probation officers charged with seeking out and bringing to the attention of the court just such children and such conditions as those described in the preceding paragraphs. But Harlan County has not, as yet, realized the need for probation service and her county court still follows the traditional criminal procedure in handling the cases of delinquent children.

If the staff of attendance officers recommended in the section on Education could be given the powers of peace officers and could be brought into close co-operation with the juvenile court of Harlan County, as volunteer or part-time probation officers, there is little doubt that they could handle most of the juvenile delinquency and dependency without ever resorting to court action.

But the problem can better be solved by increasing the forces which make for clean and happy living than by increasing agencies to deal with children after they become dependent or delinquent. If Harlan County will look to her schools, her playgrounds and her

public health, she will have little need to be concerned with children before her courts.

Dependency resulting from injury in the mines is now cared for by the Workmen's Compensation Act. The American Association for Labor Legislation states that the Kentucky law compares favorably with similar legislation in other states, but suggests three changes which would render it more effective in reducing dependency. The limitation of medical and surgical attendance to charges of \$100 to be spent within 90 days, except in cases of hernia is considered poor economy since hernia is by no means the only form of injury which may need more prolonged or expensive medical treatment than the act now provides. The present law permits compensation for total disability to an eight year period and compensation for death to 335 weeks, approximately six years. Obviously a totally disabled man or the young child of a deceased employee is no more able to support himself at the end of the compensation period than before. It is usually the case that the need for money would be greater at the end of the compensation period in the former case, because of increased age and in the latter case because of the increased demands upon the family budget for schooling, etc. It is recommended that in cases of total permanent disability compensation be paid for life and that in death cases compensation be paid to the widow until she dies or re-marries and to the children until they reach the age when they may be legally employed. The Kentucky law limits compensation to \$12 a week with a \$5 minimum. In view of the present high cost of living, these limits should be raised to \$15 and \$6, respectively. It is further suggested that the act be amended to include compensation for occupational diseases.

## FOOD BUDGETS

In three mining communities, a brief study was made of the spending habits of the people with reference to food buying and the use of the company store. Estimates of the amounts of certain articles consumed in proportion to population were secured from commissary heads in three mines; an analysis of grocery purchase slips was made in two stores; food budgets were obtained in a

limited number of families; and all observations made have been checked over by interviews with mine superintendents, foremen, storekeepers, physicians, nurses and other welfare workers in the camps, the miners and their families and mountain workers who are familiar with living conditions among the southern highlanders. The findings are presented with a full realization of their insufficiency as a basis for definite conclusions but they aim to present an accurate picture of actual conditions in a few camps and a few families which are believed to be typical of Harlan County, and, indeed, of the entire eastern Kentucky coal field, and it is hoped that they may lead to more intensive research along the lines indicated.

Two large mining operations, with populations of 3,000 (Community A) and 8,000 (Community B), respectively, were chosen for study and one small camp, of 300 population (Community C), located on the outskirts of Harlan Town. The miners in Community C were of American birth exclusively, most of them being Kentucky stock, mountain-bred or of similar stock from Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia. The same group were greatly in the majority in Community A and were largely represented in Community B, although foreign-born labor was being shipped into the latter place by the trainload. In our study, the foreign-born group has been practically ignored, as having made little or no impression on the habits of the American born and as not typical of the general situation.

The health of children varies directly with the kind and quantity of food they get. The mother who buys wisely can make the same amount of money accomplish twice as much in body-building as can her neighbor who does not know how to plan her children's diet. But the judgment of the buyer is to a certain extent controlled by the limitations of the market. In a community where pasturage is insufficient to keep milch cows in good condition and where transportation facilities are so poor that fresh milk can not be shipped in from outside dairy farms it does not rest with the mother to decide how many pints of milk a day her child shall drink. She can not give him what she can not buy.

A study of the food habits of a mining community is, accordingly, not complete without some discussion of the resources of the market, which is, for all practical purposes, limited to the "company store." No attempt will be made in this section of the report



to present the arguments for and against company ownership of camp commissaries. Whether right or wrong, the fact remains that mine owners operate stores in everyone of the mining villages visited in Harlan County and that no other merchants have, in these villages, set up rival establishments.

The Kentucky law forbids any attempt to compel miners to trade at camp commissaries, either by direct order or by black-listing those who fail to make purchases and we found no evidence of any improper efforts to solicit trade from the miners, such as the Federal Immigration Commission reported in the Pennsylvania coal field. Hucksters were permitted in the camps and it was nothing uncommon to see a farmer from "yon side the mountain" come riding into camp, astride of saddle bags which bulged with vegetables and eggs or to which were tied a dozen flapping chickens. Children went to the hills and gathered greens and berries. The mail order houses were available to those with money and intelligence enough to use them and the merchants of Harlan Town were not far distant from many of the mines. Yet the fact remained that the bulk of the miners' food was obtained at the company store.

There are many good reasons why this should be true. The company store is accessible. It is usually the geographical center of the village, under the same roof with the post office and with the mine office where the men go to draw their pay. It is much easier physically for tired men or for women with young children to walk a short distance to make their purchases than to go a long way, and frequent visits to the store are necessary because miners' houses in Harlan County are without the storage space which would make buying in bulk practicable. None of them have cellars; few have cupboards of any sort. The winters are open and no ice is available for general use during the summer months except at prohibitive prices. Perishable products can not be kept long except in the big refrigerators at the store. They must be purchased in small quantities and used at once. "Meal-to-meal buying" is common.

But the fact that "scrip" is current at the company store and nowhere else is the determining factor. Miners in Harlan County must according to law be paid every two weeks. The Kentucky law provides that this payment must be in "lawful money of the United States," but it does not forbid the issuance of "scrip," or company money, for other purposes. The custom prevails of permitting the

miner, or his wife to draw from the mine office "scrip" or paper money, up to the amount of wages due for services to the preceding day. When pay day comes the value of "scrip" drawn is deducted from the two weeks' wage. The whole system has grown out of the alleged inability of the worker to live from one pay day to the next without an advance in wages and the desire of the company to avoid carrying credit accounts in the store. But the psychological effect upon the purchaser has been distinctly bad. The miner does not regard "scrip" as equal in value to money, even though its purchasing power in the store is the same. It is said that in exchanging "scrip" for money, it is frequently subject to a discount of 10 per cent or more. The miner and his family unconsciously discount it in use. They do not spend five dollars worth of "scrip" with the same care which they would show in expending five dollars in cash. Though elusive of proof, the truth of this statement is admitted by both miners and store keepers. "Scrip" is comparable to the check book and the credit account in a group whose sense of money values is weak. A bookkeeper in one camp said he had frequently seen a number of women draw the amount of "scrip" they had heard one woman ask for, then follow each other into the store and stand around, gossiping and aimlessly adding to their purchases until they had spent up to the total amount of issuance. Nor are the women the only ones to be affected by the system. The story is told of one man who spent much time in the store, looking for things to buy and finally departed, the proud possessor of eye glasses which he did not need. In certain camps no "scrip" is issued for less than five cents and all articles in stores are priced in multiples of five. If a given article is sold at the rate of two for fifteen cents, the purchaser has to pay ten cents rather than eight if he buys one. Although this facilitates the making of change and the conduct of business, it is almost certain to mean loss to the consumer.

How far prices in the company stores made the practice of economy difficult in the camps can not be stated. An attempt was made to compare prices in the various commissaries with prices in the city stores of Louisville, Knoxville and Cincinnati, but it was impossible to draw any conclusions from the data secured, as there was no way of judging quality, except in the few cases where a familiar brand of goods was sold. Flour was priced about the

same in all the stores as in city markets. Sugar was a cent and a half higher in the company stores. Many of the canned goods appeared to be higher than city goods, but this was a comparison by weight, not quality. Fruits and vegetables were much higher in many instances, to cover loss from deterioration and because they were bought in small lots. The excessively high cost of getting supplies to this isolated county is an element which in justice to the company stores must not be ignored in a comparison of prices. It is unquestionably overbalanced, however, by the profits from an exclusively cash business, with little cost for delivery service or rent. A comparison of prices charged for the same articles by a commissary near Harlan and by a local store in Harlan showed the following differences, but the comparison took no account of quality:

	Commissary	Local Store
Apples.....	\$0.05	2 for \$0.05
Butter.....	.80	.75
Cheese.....	.55	.45
Coffee.....	.35-.45	.25-.30
Eggs.....	.50	.45
Flour.....	1.75	1.70
Lard.....	.35	.30
Meal.....	1.20	1.25
Pork.....	.40	.40
Steak.....	.45	.40
Sugar.....	.15	.12½

So far as cleanliness of the premises and care in handling food products are concerned, the stores of the two large corporations are distinctly superior to those of the surrounding country. The meat market end of the store in Community B was carefully screened. The salesmen wore washable clothing and conditions compared favorably with those of a well-managed city market. Loose milk is not dispensed at the stores. The custom of selling foodstuffs in packages rather than in bulk, makes for cleanliness, but not for economy in buying. It is admitted that the canned and boxed articles yield a higher percentage of profit than do flour, sugar and other staples.

Dried vegetables, such as lima beans, peas, lentils and kidney beans, and dried fruits, such as prunes, apricots and peaches are not carried by most of the stores. Oleomargarine, which came into extended use during the war, is rarely sold. It is safe to assume,



however, that if the people were familiar with these articles of diet, and wanted them, the stores would carry them. Naturally, the store keeper is expected to run his business with the maximum of profit and he is more interested in that than in encouraging economical methods of buying. As one manager said, "the store attempts to supply the demand of the people and not to direct or suggest in any way."

Undoubtedly direction or suggestion if given in a dictatorial manner, would not accord with business sense, but tactfully to educate the buying public to new food habits is merely good salesmanship. The buying public in Harlan County mining camps have, it is granted, certain long-standing likes and aversions which must be reckoned with.

As already indicated the majority of the miners in the three communities studied came from American mountain stock. They are accustomed to the food and the cooking of the mountaineers. Of this diet, Kephart, in *Our Southern Highlanders*, paints a rather depressing picture.

"The backwoodsmen," he says, "through ruthless weeding-out of the normally sensitive, have acquired a wonderful tolerance of swimming grease, doughy bread and half-fried cabbage; but even so they are gnawed by dyspepsia. Many a homicide in the mountains can be traced directly to bad food and the raw whiskey taken to appease a sour stomach." Fresh milk, butter and beef are scantily used in mountain homes. Kephart hazards the opinion that perhaps the extraordinary distaste for fresh milk and butter, or the universal suspicion of these foods, that mountaineers evince in so many localities, may have sprung up from experience with "milk-sick cows." The cattle forage for themselves through eight or nine months of the year, running wild like the razor back. Nearly all the beasts are scrub stock. The result is that many families go without milk a great part of the year, and seldom indeed taste beef or butter. The mainstay of every farmer aside from his corn-field is his litter of razor back hogs. "Old cornbread and sowbelly" are a menu complete for the mountaineer.

The Children's Bureau in its report on *Rural Children in Selected Counties in North Carolina* noted of the mountain county a more varied diet than in the lowlands but said that the mountain mothers lacked "an understanding of the needs of the growing child. This was shown in the unsystematic, promiscuous feeding, in the preparation of under-done starches, in excess of fats, and in a too hearty

diet. Three heavy meals a day were served and food *ad libitum* between times—potatoes, beans, meat, and big doughy biscuits or partially cooked corn-bread.” Breast-feeding of infants was universal, but “in addition to the breast-milk, the average baby is given from an early age a taste of everything the mother eats.”

Professional workers among the Kentucky mountain people, a dietitian, a doctor and a nurse, who were consulted on the subject expressed the opinion that the diet was even less balanced and healthful in the mining camps than in the mountains because of the lack of milk and butter, and vegetables. The mountain diet of corn, “shucky” beans, string beans grown large and eaten for the beans rather than the husks; sorghum, cabbage, onions, greens, potatoes, apples, milk, eggs, pork and chicken, is varied in the mining camp with the substitution of sugar for sorghum, the almost complete elimination of milk and apples and greens, and the addition of all sorts of canned and ready prepared foods, and of fresh meats.

In the crowded camp, it is hard for the individual family to keep a cow, since pasturage is limited, the danger of accident on the railroad tracks is great, and the cost of upkeep is almost prohibitive. To plant a garden one must have space enough to pay for cultivation, must spend time and money in the preparation of the ground and finally must erect a fence to protect it from the neighbors' chickens and live stock as well as from their children. These difficulties, combined with the desire to be ready to move at short notice, keep many families in the camps from planting gardens. The women do not can vegetables and fruits to any extent, because they are hard to get, storage space in the houses is exceedingly limited, and again because a supply of canned goods would be a hindrance in moving.

In the company stores, the supply of fresh vegetables and fruits is small, since there is almost no truck farming in the vicinity of the coal fields and the cost of shipping in green foods from distant markets is great. The result is a preponderance of meat and canned foods in the diet. The underbaked corn bread, biscuits, and undercooked, greasy foods remain, the wholesome elements in a milk and vegetable content are lost, and unwholesome elements in a too-heavy meat and canned-goods consumption are added. In the mountains and in the country districts, the housewife can feed her family only those things which are grown or raised at home,

with the exception of certain staples, purchased at intervals at a store which is more or less inaccessible and perhaps understocked. In the mining camp, in the nearby company store, she has the choice of practically every article of food that is canned, glassed or boxed. She follows the line of least resistance, and feeds her family on all the ready-cooked, but costly and frequently unwholesome food that the market affords.

The idea that the miner must live well, which means chiefly, eat well, is everywhere voiced. It is the premise he insists on when he talks on the subject of his daily life or when one hints curtailment to him in spending or care in the choice of foods. One miner's wife who had been raised in thrift on a farm said that she and her husband would never have saved if she had managed as her neighbors did. In many cases the man will not permit the woman to do the buying, but whether the result is greater economy or merely the restriction of the woman, could not be ascertained. Lavish spending for food is common, whether by man or woman.

The art of housewifery, of intelligent and economical buying and preparing of food, is almost undiscoverable in the mining camp. A thrifty mountain mother, just returned from a visit to a mining camp, said: "Why, thar the women don't have no gyardens and no smoke-houses: they don't raise no food but they buy everything out of the store in pokes, and havin' nothing to do, they set around and mourn they can't get anybody to cook for them." More than one miner's wife, in answer to the question of how much she spent for food, "I can't say for sure, because I never know how much he's earning." She is governed not by the amount necessary to feed her family comfortably, but by the size of her husband's daily pay slip.

Not only was there direct evidence of extravagance in buying, but much evidence, both direct and indirect, of wastefulness in the handling of food in the home. The prevalence of frying as a method of preparation is a case in point. It makes the product less digestible and therefore less nutritious; the grease is wasted in evaporation over great heat, and the frequent practice is, as stated by several women, to throw out bread and biscuits over a day old, and not to use left-overs of whatever sort. Inquiries concerning the nature of garbage in several camps corroborated the impression that a great deal of it was not legitimate garbage, but food that might have been salvaged.



The budget studies were limited to a few families in each camp. Information was gathered in casual, door-to-door visits, and was not extensive or uniform. In most cases the woman had no idea how much it cost the family to live, or what the income averaged. Sometimes this was because the mine was not running full time or because the man himself worked irregularly.

One family, of man, wife and six children, ranging from eighteen months to 12 years were found living in poverty and filth. The children looked sickly and underfed. All had badly decayed teeth. The boys of 12 and 8 were both in the primer class, the boy of 10 in 1st grade, and the 6-year old boy had never attended school. The mother explained that they did not go to school much because they could not buy clothes. The man earned, she thought, over \$100 a month and she earned \$4 a week washing. The husband estimated that it cost \$100 a month for food alone. Rent was \$6, and of clothes, furniture and extras they bought practically none. Their daily food budget was as follows:

Lard.....	\$0.25
Eggs.....	.50
Ham, Steak or Pork Chops.....	.65
Meal.....	.10
Sugar.....	.05
Potatoes.....	.28
Beans.....	.25
Salt Pork.....	.26
Bread.....	.10
Buttermilk.....	.13
Canned Milk.....	.20
Cakes.....	.13
Candy.....	.05
Rice.....	.05

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\$3.00 daily

\$90.00 monthly

They had eggs or meat regularly for breakfast. If eggs, they used from a dozen to a dozen and a half at a time. In addition they consumed from 50 to 75 cents' worth of meat a day, besides the salt pork which was eaten with the daily allotment of two pounds of beans. They used no butter but spent 25 cents a day for lard; no sweet milk, but buttermilk and canned milk; no fruit, but almost 20 cents' worth of cakes and candy a day. They kept no livestock.

planted no garden, did no canning. An analysis of this diet would probably show that it was enormously high in protein, as shown in the lavish consumption of meat, beans, eggs, and in starch and fats, evidenced in the use of potatoes, meal, flour, beans, eggs, and in salt pork in large quantities. It was seriously lacking in minerals, to be had in fruit and vegetables, and in the essential vitamins to be had in fresh milk and butter. The family, while spending perhaps twice as much as necessary to meet their dietetic needs, was starving for the foods their diet did not include.

In another family of three adults, a working boy of 22 and his mother and aunt, the daily budget was as follows:

Lard.....	\$0.25
Eggs.....	.50
Salt Pork.....	.25
Sugar.....	.03
Flour.....	.13
Meal.....	.12
Potatoes.....	.02
Beans.....	.10
Coffee.....	.02
Canned Fruit.....	.30
Canned Vegetables.....	.13
Rice.....	.04
	<hr/>
	\$1.89

The family "scrip" book for the month showed \$58, tallying closely with the mother's estimate as given above. The mother prided herself on her thrift since she did not buy extras such as cake and candies. The list shows restraint if not good dietetic judgment. The daily expenditure of 30 cents for canned fruit shows extravagance. There is no milk or butter, but a large amount of lard for three people.

A young couple with a baby four months old, spent about \$80 a month for food alone. The wife was pretty and fond of clothes. They had almost no furniture. The man's earnings averaged, they thought, about \$120 a month. Six dollars went for rent, \$1 for fuel, about a dollar more for blacksmithing and other minor charges, \$1 for union fees, and the balance of about \$30 for clothes and sundries. Going to the store before each meal, the wife's daily purchases totalled as follows:

Lard.....	\$0.25	
Salt Pork.....	.15	
Meal.....	.45	
Eggs.....	.25	
Canned Milk.....	.08	
Flour.....	.12	
Meal.....	.09	
Sugar.....	.11	
Canned Fruit.....	.30	
Jam.....	.40	
Potatoes.....	.15	
Beans.....	.15	
Butter.....	.11	
Coffee.....	.04	
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	\$2.65	\$79.50 monthly

Again is seen the preponderance of high-protein foods, the lavish use of lard and salt pork, and the absence of vegetables and fruits, except the expensive canned and preserved varieties.

A carpenter's family of man, wife and three children, was saving from *thirty to forty dollars a month on their income of one hundred and eight dollars*. They had moved from Louisville to the mine, the wife said, for regular work and because they could save more than in the city, where rent, fuel, light, and their whole scale of expenditure was higher. She pointed out that in camp they spent nothing for amusements and much less for clothing than in the city. She said the children had no advantages there and that she did not like the life, but that they would stay until they had accumulated a certain amount. Their attitude was of course different from that of the miner who expects to spend his life in mining camps.

The weekly food expenditures of this family show more intelligent buying than that of the average miner's family:

Eggs.....	\$1.75
Butter.....	2.25
Lard.....	.60
Rolled Oats.....	.28
Corn Meal.....	1.20
Flour.....	1.80
Milk.....	1.02
Coffee.....	.35



Potatoes.....	1.20
Beans.....	.96
Sugar.....	.25
Crackers.....	.30
Salt Pork.....	2.50
Vegetables (Onions, Tomatoes, Green Beans).	1.00

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\$15.46 weekly      \$61.84 monthly

The wife of a machine helper, who was saving a little on one hundred and four dollars a month, with a family of four children, said she considered it more expensive to live in a mining camp than in a city, because provisions were so high. She bought most of her staples in quantity by mail order which she said greatly reduced her bills.

Their weekly food consumption was as follows:

Butter.....	\$0.75
Lard.....	.70
Corn Meal.....	.40
Flour.....	.90
Eggs.....	.90
Milk.....	.20
Coffee.....	.35
Potatoes.....	1.20
Beans.....	1.00
Sugar.....	.65
Ham.....	5.25
Corn Flakes.....	1.05
Dried Apples, Pears and Prunes.....	.75
Lima Beans.....	.60

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\$14.70 weekly      \$58.80 monthly

Although this woman showed more wisdom in buying than most of her neighbors, her food list is not nearly so well-balanced as that of the carpenter's wife. The former spends a great deal more for butter, milk and eggs and spends something, although not enough, for vegetables, which the machine helper's wife does not buy at all. The latter, however, partly makes up for this lack in her rather generous use of dried fruits as compared with most families who do not use them at all.

A college woman, the wife of a man holding an important position in one of the large operations, thought that she saved about a third on groceries through mail order buying, although she enjoyed a discount of 10 per cent on her purchases at the company store. She complained of the grade of goods sold there, and said she could always get better quality for less money at the mail order houses. She bought intelligently, and her food list showed items quite different from those of the miners' families. She used dried fruits of all sorts, a great deal of salmon, cheese, butter, milk, eggs and bacon, and no meat except an occasional soupbone or steak a few times a month. She always bought whatever fresh fruit and vegetables the store carried, and was one of those who were trying to create a demand for this type of goods. Her diet was better balanced and more nourishing than that of most of her neighbors, and it cost about half as much per person as compared with other budgets.

The items on purchase slips from one store catering to a mixed native and foreign-born population, representing expenditures of approximately \$100, were divided into three groups: substantial and necessary articles such as potatoes, flour, meal and so forth; luxuries such as preserves, cakes, candy, various ready-cooked but insubstantial cereals, potted meats, sardines, etc.; and third, fresh fruits and vegetables. About 50 per cent of the purchases fell into the first class, as necessary foods; 40 per cent into the second, as luxuries and insubstantial articles; 10 per cent into the third. Purchases of ice-cream, soft drinks and candy were not included in this list. Assuming that at least half of the 157 buyers bought some one of these articles, the proportion for luxuries would be higher.

One of the smaller companies, with a working group of 125 men and a population of about 300 was kind enough to keep a record of the purchases made in one day in the company store. One hundred and thirty-seven sales were made, totalling \$186.25. Expenditures for food amounted to \$147.75; the balance of \$38.50 going for dry goods, patent medicines, carbide, lamp oil, etc.

The appended chart is an attempt to show by an analysis of these slips the dietetic and spending habits of the people in camp. According to the store manager, it is a fairly accurate picture of daily spending throughout the year.

TABLE NO. 4

ANALYSIS OF FOOD PURCHASES MADE IN ONE DAY IN COMPANY STORE OF  
MINING VILLAGE

## TOTAL AMOUNT SPENT IN ONE DAY FOR EACH ARTICLE

Ham \$20.50		Canned Fruits and Preserves \$16.35		Lard \$11.80		Flour \$9.90	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
1	\$5.10	2	\$0.60	1	\$1.30	11	\$0.90
1	1.00	1	.50	1	.60	..	..
2	.75	1	.40	2	.50	..	..
2	.70	1	.35	1	.40	..	..
1	.65	2	.30	3	.35	..	..
1	.55	25	.25	4	.30	..	..
13	.50	13	.20	12	.25	..	..
1	.45	5	.15	6	.20	..	..
2	.40	9	..	13	.15	..	..
2	.35	..	..	1	.10	..	..
2	.30	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	.25	..	..	..	..	..	..
33	\$20.50	59	\$16.35	44	\$11.80	11	\$9.90

Meat \$8.35		Potatoes \$7.10		Bacon \$6.40		Canned Vegetables \$6.05	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
1	\$1.00	1	\$0.60	1	\$0.60	1	\$0.50
1	.75	11	.30	1	.50	15	.25
1	.60	2	.25	1	.35	9	.20
1	.55	4	.20	14	.25	..	..
3	.50	12	.15	5	.20	..	..
3	.40	1	.10	3	.15	..	..
1	.35	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	.30	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	.25	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	.20	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	.15	..	..	..	..	..	..
22	\$8.35	31	\$7.10	26	\$6.40	25	\$6.05



Butter \$5.90		Beans \$5.55		Apples \$0.40		Oatmeal \$0.30	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
1	\$0.25	8	\$0.20	1	\$0.25	2	\$0.15
2	.20	8	.25	1	.15	..	..
8	.15	11	.15	..	..	..	..
5	.10	3	.10	..	..	..	..
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	\$5.90	30	\$5.55	2	\$0.40	2	\$0.30

Peanut Butter \$0.25		Canned Salmon \$0.25		Syrup \$0.20		Puffed Rice and Corn Flakes \$0.30	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
1	\$0.25	1	\$0.25	1	\$0.20	1	\$0.15
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	.15
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	\$0.25	1	\$0.25	1	\$0.20	2	\$0.30

Oranges and Lemons \$0.15		Beets \$0.28		Sugar \$5.45		Sausage \$5.45	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
1	\$0.10	1	\$0.25	13	\$0.25	4	\$0.50
1	.05	..	.25	12	.15	1	.40
..	..	..	..	4	.10	3	.30
..	..	..	..	..	..	7	.25
..	..	..	..	..	..	2	.20
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	\$0.15	1	\$0.25	29	\$5.45	12	\$5.45

Minced Ham \$4.40		Tobacco \$4.15		Coffee \$4.05		Cakes \$4.05	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
2	\$0.45	2	\$0.25	1	\$0.45	1	\$0.40
2	.40	7	.20	2	.35	1	.35
1	.35	7	.15	8	.30	9	.15
2	.30	10	.10	2	.25	18	.10
6	.25	4	.05	..	..	3	.05
1	.15	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	.10	..	..	..	..	..	..
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15	\$4.40	30	\$4.15	13	\$4.05	32	\$4.05

Eggs \$3.90		Canned Milk \$3.70		Meal \$3.35		Candy \$3.55	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
5	\$0.50	10	\$0.25	2	\$0.65	6	\$0.15
1	.40	1	.20	1	.50	16	.10
4	.25	10	.10	1	.45	..	..
..	..	..	..	2	.30	..	..
..	..	..	..	2	.25	..	..
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
10	\$3.90	21	\$3.70	8	\$3.35	43	\$3.55

Cheese \$2.30		Bread \$2.30		Onions \$2.10		Macaroni \$0.90		Rice \$0.45	
Num- ber Pur- chases	Amts.	Num- ber Pur- chases	Amts.	Num- ber Pur- chases	Amts.	Num- ber Pur- chases	Amts.	Num- ber Pur- chases	Amts.
1	\$0.35	1	\$0.30	3	\$0.15	3	\$0.10	3	\$0.15
1	.25	3	.20	16	.10	3	.20	..	..
1	.20	14	.10	1	.05	..	..	..	..
6	.15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	.10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
15	\$2.30	18	\$2.30	20	\$2.10	6	\$0.90	3	\$0.45

It will be seen that the orders are all small, only three amounting to over \$4, as contrasted with 102 out of a total of 137, under \$2. Of the 31 purchases under 50 cents, eight were for 25 cents, five for 15 cents, seven for 10 cents, two for 5 cents, a total of 22 purchases for amounts of 25 cents or less. The buying is obviously to meet the day's needs only.

It follows that the items that make up the totals of the slips are also small. In the ham sales there is one of \$5, another of \$1, but 25 out of 33 sales are for amounts between 25 and 50 cents. In canned fruits, jellies and preserves, only one out of fifty-two purchases is for more than one jar at a time. One customer bought \$1.30 worth of lard but the majority bought in 15 or 25 cent amounts. Meat purchases ranged evenly from 15 cents to \$1; potatoes, which are bought to the best advantage in bushel quantities, or larger, were purchased in 30 cent amounts and less. Bacon is bought most economically in strips of several pounds, but the 26 persons who bought bacon on this day, with the exception of three who bought 60 cents', 50 cents', and 35 cents' worth, respectively, asked for 25 cents' worth or less. Miners' families use beans as regularly as potatoes, so that they might be expected to buy enough at a time for a week's use at least, but the 30 sales of beans on this day were for amounts ranging from 10 to 25 cents. Sugar was bought in the same amounts.

The chart analysis of the purchase slips reveals small range in buying, lack of variety in diet, and the emphasis so placed on the articles within the range of selection as to mean a badly balanced dietary.

There are 34 articles of food in the entire list. Twenty-three of these, meat, potatoes, bacon, beans, sugar, canned milk, coffee, butter, bread, cheese, flour, eggs, meal, macaroni, rice, apples, oatmeal, peanut butter, salmon, oranges, beets and syrup, may be classed as either basic or desirable articles in any dietary. Canned milk is included because it is difficult to get fresh milk. Canned vegetables can not be classed as desirable unless it is impossible to get fresh vegetables, as in frontier communities.

Variety is sought in canned fruits and preserves, lard, candy, ham, cakes, sausage, minced ham, puffed rice and corn flakes, ten articles which may be considered as among the undesirable or extravagant classes of food. It is here that the fact of bad selection



and faulty emphasis in the dietary is shown. The above-mentioned ten articles are seldom, if ever, to be found, in the purchasing lists of the housewife who considers wholesomeness of food and economy of first importance in her buying. For canned fruits and preserves she substitutes home-made ones, put up in season, or made from dried fruits. Lard is used for frying, which is an unwholesome way of preparing food, or for pastry, also unwholesome. Candy may be eliminated from the diet entirely, or made at home, if it is used as part of the necessary sugar content. Cakes are less expensive and more desirable as food when made at home. Ham, sausage and minced ham may be classed among the most expensive meats, giving the least return and placing the greatest tax on the digestion. Puffed rice and corn flakes are among the most expensive and least desirable cereals. They cost much more than the substantial, home-cooked cereals such as oatmeal. Canned vegetables are little used by the economical housewife. Granted that the housewife in the mining camp must use them, her range of selection might be much greater, since almost any vegetable canned is procurable. Out of thirty-five cans purchased, fourteen are tomatoes, seven are corn, three are peas and one string beans.

It is noteworthy that the heaviest purchasing was of five of the articles rated as undesirable or extravagant, namely, canned fruits and preserves, lard, candy, ham, and cakes, and that two other articles so classed, sausage and minced ham, are found near the top of the list.

Corn-meal is used extensively, and is a wholesome, highly economical food. It is, however, made into cakes, greasy and frequently underbaked, whereas it yields the greatest returns dietetically in thoroughly baked cornbread, or as mush or puddings. The use of other cereals is exceedingly limited, as note the small consumption of oatmeal and rice.

The amount of butter purchased is lamentably small. Only 16 persons bought it, in a total of a little over seven pounds. Cheese, eggs and peanut butter, three articles high in protein and excellent as substitutes for meat, are little in demand. Fifteen purchased cheese in small amounts, ten purchased a total of eight dozen eggs, and one jar of peanut butter was sold.

The quantity of fresh fruit sold is negligible as compared with the heavy purchasing of canned and preserved fruits. Dried fruits

were not carried in the store. One orange and two apple purchases were made. The only vegetables bought aside from the canned ones were onions, for which there were 20 purchases, and beets, with one.

An analysis of the sales slips of one mine for one day may be considered as indicative only of the buying habits of the people in that camp, but it is surprising to what an extent it confirms and illustrates the facts and impressions gathered from various sources in all the camps visited. The same disregard of food economies is everywhere found. The people in this region seldom bake raised bread so that yeast is little in demand in the company stores. Carrots are never used. Dried lima beans, peas, lentils, kidney beans, dried fruits such as prunes, apricots, peaches, etc., are not even kept in most of the stores. Hominy is used, but canned rather than dry, which is cheaper. Oleomargarine is not carried by most of the company stores, and is little used. The consumption of lard is excessive and that of butter deficient.

One store in a community of from 3,000 to 3,500 population sold 30,000 pounds of meat a month, including salt meat, averaging from  $8\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 pounds per person. A week's consumption of fresh pork alone was 1,650 pounds, and the supply fell far short of the demand. In contrast to this about four-tenths of a pound of butter per person was sold. Three thousand pounds of candy at 40 cents per pound were consumed in a month in addition to that sold at the Y. M. C. A. Apple butter, jelly and preserves were sold to the amount of 36,000 ounces a month, in addition to an enormous sale of canned fruits, syrups and a sugar consumption of 5,800 pounds. The sale of dried fruits, on the other hand, was negligible. Twenty cases, or 1,200 ounces of rolled oats were used a month, 250 bushels of potatoes, 200 barrels of flour, 500 bags of meal, and, during the winter months, 200 pounds of dried beans daily.

In a store serving a group of 8,000 population, 50,000 pounds of meat a month, or  $16\frac{2}{3}$  pounds per individual, were sold. Butter, on the other hand, was consumed at the rate of nine-tenths of a pound per individual per month, but the supply fell below the demand. The demand for fresh pork was always greater than the supply, yet pork consumption was so great that even the butcher deplored it as a menace to health. Preserves were bought in car-load lots. The supply of candy never reached more than 50 per cent of the demand. Twenty gallons of ice cream, 480 bottles of

pop, 480 bottles of near-beer, 240 bottles of grape juice were sold a week during April, and this was estimated to be about one-fifth of what was sold at the so-called "Tallie" stands which Italians had set up in the camp. (These stands had been ordered closed by the company at the time of the visit.)

In a smaller mining town, with a population of 1,000, 1,200 pounds of fresh meat and 1,000 pounds of salt meat were purchased in a month; 1,600 pounds of lard as contrasted with 100 pounds of butter; 1,500 pounds of dried beans; and 125 bushels of meal. This camp was near enough to a town for people to do some shopping there, so that these figures probably do not represent actual consumption in proportion to population as in the first mentioned communities which were practically self-sufficing.

It is not possible in this paper to state in detail what constitutes a satisfactory dietary, but a few quotations may make clear the most serious faults and dangers in the dietary of the Kentucky miner. In Miss Nesbitt's *Household Management*, the significant elements in the selection of foods are summed up from the standpoint of nutrition and from the standpoint of economy. Under the former heading are the following points:

1. The importance of extending the variety of foods purchased in each class of products to the utmost extent possible, as a means of increasing the attractiveness and healthfulness of the diet.
2. The place of milk in the diet, bringing up its consumption to at least the minimum standard (one-half pint daily for adults and a pint for a child).
3. The place of meat and the foods that can be substituted for it.
4. The place of sugar and the dangers of its over use.
5. The importance of fruits and vegetables in the diet and the necessity of augmenting the quantities used.
6. The importance of an adequate amount of fat.

From the standpoint of economy the following points are listed:

1. Cereal products are the foods which give the largest returns for the money spent.
2. The housekeeper pays well for every bit of work done on the food she buys. . . . The cheapest way in which to buy food materials is in their simplest form, raw, for home preparation.



3. Food stuffs in packages cost more, not only because of the cost of the package, but almost always for advertising as well.

4. What is called "quality" by food dealers is often based upon flavor, beauty, or other elements of attractiveness, instead of on nutritive value.

This study has shown the lack of variety in the mining camp dietary, the limited use of milk, fresh vegetables and fruit, the overconsumption of meat and sugar, and the tendency toward overconsumption of the less desirable fats.

In a pamphlet entitled *Permanent Gains from the Food Conservation Movement*, Dr. H. C. Sherman of Columbia University makes the following statements about milk:

"Milk is an important source of energy, protein, mineral elements, and vitamins, and possesses unique value as a growth-promoting food. It is the one article of diet whose sole function in nature is to serve as a food, and the one food for which there is no satisfactory substitute. . . . Not only is milk the most economical intrinsically of the animal foods of farm origin, but of even greater interest is the positive demonstration, by fully controlled experiments, that a liberal use of milk in the diet is the best safeguard against any deficiency which might possibly arise through restricted choice of foods. There are whole communities in this country, as well as in those less abundantly supplied with food, where the death rate of the children remains unnecessarily high, and the vigor and efficiency of the adult population remains at a much lower average than would be possible otherwise, because of inadequate milk and vegetable supply, often merely the result of lack of knowledge of these foods. It has been suggested as a rule, applicable to any standard of living and scale of expenditure for food, that as much be spent for fruits and vegetables as for meat and fish, and that as much be spent for milk (including cheese) and cream (if used) as for meat and fish."

In a later discussion of corn as a substitute for wheat (in which he states that maize products are in all respects of equal nutritive value with the corresponding products of wheat), Dr. Sherman says:

"It has been demonstrated that there is no greater danger of pellagra in the use of corn than of other grains. In so far as pellagra is due to faulty diet, the fault lies not in the use of corn, but in the fact that the diet contains too little of foods of other types and particularly that it *contains too little milk*. The lower per capita

use of milk is the most striking difference in the food supply of the Southern mill villages, where pellagra is prevalent, as compared with the correspondong communities in the Northern States."

Concerning meat, Dr. Sherman says, "While meat proteins are efficient in nutrition, they are probably more likely to cause trouble when taken in excess than are the other proteins of the food. Through the meat-saving campaign, many people have learned for the first time that it is not only feasible but beneficial to spend less for meat and more for dairy products." Of sugar, "Sugar serves only as a fuel and owes its popularity not to any nutritional advantage over other fuel foods, but simply to the fact that people like the sweet flavor. The greater the extent to which we depend upon refined sugar as food, the greater the danger that we may satisfy the appetite and energy requirements, without having covered all the other requirements of permanently adequate nutrition."

Miss Nesbitt says, "Used too freely, sugar is likely to displace other foods which will furnish both energy and iron. In children undernourishment is so often traced to too much sugar in the diet that it is an ingredient whose amount should always be scrutinized."

To quote further from Dr. Sherman's pamphlet, "Fruits and vegetables are important sources of the mineral matters and vitamins needed in human nutrition. Contrary to the supposition of former times, it now appears that a diet consisting largely of breadstuffs and cereals is more effectively supplemented by vegetables than by meat. This is true not only as regards the definitely known factors of the food supply but also because of the as yet unidentified but very necessary antiscorbutic property of the fruits and vegetables and because of their beneficial influence upon intestinal hygiene and upon the elimination of uric acid from the body. A detailed analysis of the data of food supplies of over two hundred American families representative of a wide range of income groups and of various sections of the country shows that on the average the money spent for fruit and vegetables is undoubtedly better invested than the average of all the money spent for food, so that the purchase of more fruits and vegetables will usually be good economy as well as good hygiene.

"Fats," Dr. Sherman says, "serve only as fuel in meeting the chemical requirements of nutrition except in so far as butter, and a few other fats to a less extent, carry dissolved in the fat itself one of the necessary vitamins. But fat is a large factor in giving to food the quality of richness. . . . Moreover the larger the proportion of fat in the food, the longer it is likely to stay in the stomach. Thus the lack of fat is likely to be closely associated with the feeling of hunger and consequently lowering of morale and of working efficiency."

It is evident that when the mining camp diet is studied with reference to these points that it is faulty, both from the standpoint of nutrition and economy. The most serious defect, so far as the children are concerned, is the lack of milk. Babies are almost universally breast-fed but the growing child does not ordinarily get the milk he needs. Most of the companies assume no responsibility for the milk supply. Plans were under discussion at Community B for building a twelve mile mountain road at an estimated cost of \$100,000 through Big Stone Gap to the main roads of West Virginia, so that a daily supply of fresh milk and other produce could be shipped in. Another company in this section of Kentucky maintained a dairy farm for a time but reported it a failure, because they could not man it properly. The difficulties in the way of a cow for each family have already been discussed. The question of increased dairying and the introduction of goats for milk and cheese production is being considered in the state, but little progress has so far been made.

The fact also must be recognized that even if the milk supply were adequate, milk consumption would not necessarily be increased unless people became less ignorant of its significance in the diet. Buttermilk is now used in preference to sweet milk when the latter is available. One woman was found who refused to sell sweet milk for fear it would be used in cooking, and thus, as she said, make her cow go dry.

Eventually, improved transportation facilities will solve the problem of supply. Meanwhile it is possible to make up for the lack of fresh milk in part by the use of condensed milks, and by the increased use of milk products such as cheese and butter. In answer to a query on this point Dr. Sherman writes as follows:

"In the absence of an adequate fresh milk supply, I think that the deficiency can probably best be met at the present time by the use of condensed milk, and perhaps, in the near future, of milk powders. I think there is probably some decrease in the vitamine value of evaporation of milk, but I doubt if this is serious except in the case of the vitamine which prevents scurvy. Both of the vitamins prominently concerned in the growth and in the prevention of deficiency diseases other than scurvy appear to be present in considerable proportion both in condensed milk and milk powders. It seems probable that the vitamins will, on the average be somewhat better conserved in condensed milk (sweetened) than in



evaporated (unsweetened) milk, because when the product is not sweetened the manufacturer gives it a much greater heat treatment in order to insure it keeping in the can. In a community which has practically no milk supply I would consider it desirable that the consumption of condensed milk should be at least a pound can per day for every three persons, and very desirable that the consumption of fruits and vegetables should be increased as much as possible. In my opinion meat can never satisfactorily take the place of milk, but milk and vegetables can more than take the place of meat; hence in a food supply containing what I would consider adequate amounts of milk and vegetables it would be a matter of relatively little importance as to how much meat was used."

In *Food Products*, Dr. Sherman states that a pound of butter is equal in energy value to five quarts of milk, but that in view of the protein and ash constituents which the milk contains it would probably be wise to consider that three quarts of milk fully equal one pound of butter as an asset in the dietary. A pound of cheese, he says, represents the casein and fat of a gallon of average milk. Concerning cheese as a meat substitute he says, "It is a fair general estimate that a given amount of money spent for American cheese at ordinary prices will buy about twice as much food value as it would if spent for meat."

The question of a fresh fruit and vegetable supply is likewise serious. Store managers say that they will ship in more of these perishable foods as soon as the demand is assured. At present, they say, the percentage of loss is so great that they handle very little of it. The growth of vegetables in home gardens is the obvious solution and a few companies are trying to stimulate the cultivation of gardens by the people. The local unions and the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association might well join in calling upon the county agent for help in organizing boys' clubs for home gardening in the mining camps, and in urging the home demonstrator to get the girls into canning and cooking clubs, until such time as these subjects are properly taught in properly equipped schools.

But in a mining community, as in any other community, that knowledge of food values which is necessary if the health of children is to profit by a well-chosen diet, is not born in women. They must be taught, and the best conceived plans of group education along these lines include not only lessons in cooking but in "budget engineering," or the science of effective spending as well. This does not mean to develop acumen in bargaining or in detecting fraud so much as to teach actual values in foods and other com-

modities. The body of information on these subjects has increased enormously in the last few years through the development of household sciences, dietetics, and kindred subjects, and was made easily accessible to the entire population through the food conservation during the war. The information compiled through the Food Administration and disseminated by the Council of National Defense and other agencies has lost its war time significance, but has lost none of its value to the individual or the community. The familiar devices of advertising and salesmanship can be used for bringing these facts to the attention of the people. Lectures, placards, pictures, for use on the movie screen or as exhibits, booth demonstrations, are some of the methods which might be employed.

A company wishing to undertake "budget engineering" among its employees, could use both direct and indirect methods. As store owner, it has an unusual opportunity. A study of its sales on a larger scale than the one described in this paper could be made to discover the weaknesses in the food habits of the people. More wholesome articles could be gradually introduced and the attention of customers called to them in various ways, such as by posters, hung about the store, by demonstrations of the proper way to cook them, or better still, by the announcement of cut rates if given amounts were bought in a given period. This is a very effective device in many ways. It can be made an inducement for quantity buying, which is an advantage both to seller and buyer. If handled properly by the company, it can be a means of making the worker feel that the company is trying to give him every advantage in buying.

To connect the whole "budget engineering" plan with the schools would be a strategic move because it would enlist the interest of the children who may in turn be the most effective teachers of their parents. The value to the children would be inestimable. They would get more arithmetic, geography, dietetics, reading, writing and spelling out of a scientifically conducted study of the problems that go with the running of a store and the feeding of a town, than they would out of all the instruction on these problems that they get in twelve years of schooling. It would be intensely real to them, because the food problem is foremost in the majority of families. It would be possible and practicable in a school where the teachers had sufficient intelligence and imagination to apply

the principles of organic education, which means merely to make education concrete rather than abstract, to teach through the medium of every day facts with which the child is familiar.

The introduction into the schools of a department of domestic science, which would teach boys and girls alike, not how to make cake or expensive desserts, but why oatmeal is a more wholesome and economical food than puffed rice and how to prepare it in an appetizing way with the utensils they have at home; the establishment of a small local paper, to be run, printing and all, by the boys of the school, which could be a medium for the dissemination of facts of all sorts, including discussions on health, food, store problems, transportation questions and the like; these are two possible methods of bringing the school into contact with the actual food problems of the community.

The visiting housekeeper is becoming almost as familiar a figure in industrial towns as the visiting nurse and she is equally valuable. Her work is preventive, since she instructs people in how to keep well by right habits of eating and living. The visiting nurse may and often does perform the same service, but more often she is called in only after sickness has come and much of her time is given to cure.

Whether the provision of visiting housekeepers, better schools or popular education through the stores be considered as steps in a program to advance community health, it would be much better if the first move could come from the workers themselves through joint councils of employers and workmen or through the unions.

If an intelligent nucleus of the working group really understood how much suffering comes directly from misspent money and wrongly selected food, they would probably welcome such action. Through them, a consultant-dietician might be employed, who would be no other than a visiting housekeeper. The difference would be that her services would be sought by rather than inflicted upon the group. If she should work in conjunction with the school, perhaps as instructor in household economy, her position would be much stronger.

Plans might be developed by the workmen for co-operation with committees on education and civic affairs, the latter for meetings and group discussions, the former for increasing school funds and changing curricula. In the two operations carried on in Harlan County by the United States Steel Corporation and The Inter-



national Harvester Company, every resource of the highly organized welfare departments which both companies maintain should be called upon to study the local situation, and to assist the community in working out its own plans in the most effective manner. For the smaller camps, appropriate departments of the state and federal governments can furnish expert investigation and advice, and they may well be called upon to do so, since the problem concerns not Harlan County alone, but the entire eastern Kentucky coal field.

People in general need to know a great deal more than they do about the needs of their bodies and the best way to spend money in meeting those needs. The mining groups in Kentucky have been peculiarly out of touch with the popular instruction on such subjects which has been carried on by governmental and other agencies during the last few years. This knowledge is vital to the welfare of themselves and their children. It should be brought to them by whatever means possible.



A LITTLE DAUGHTER OF THE HILLS.

# THE ONION WORKERS

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CHARLES E. GIBBONS

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Sixteen thousand acres of black, sticky bog land near the town of Kenton in Ohio are given over to the raising of onions and in the season several hundred families find labor in these fields. From April when the land is prepared, until October when the onions are crated and stored, there is fairly continuous work "on the marsh," as the region is popularly called, and workers come from a distance to live here for this part of the year. Formerly they worked as day laborers but under this arrangement the inducements were not enough to hold them steadily, so now they have become tenants for the season, the operator renting them small acreages for their own cultivation, usually of from three to five acres according to the size of the family. The operator furnishes seed and fertilizer, prepares the soil and sows the seed, charging from \$4 to \$5 per acre for "fitting" the ground, as this part of the work is known, and the tenant pays this amount in the autumn when accounts are settled. The rental for such family allotments is half the onions raised. Cultivating these small acreages requires only part of their time and the rest they spend in the operators' fields at wages of from \$2 to \$2.50 per day of ten hours. Children are used extensively, especially in the weeding season, and are paid on the basis of the row—as an adult weeds three rows while he works his way across the fields, a child who weeds only one row is paid one-third of what an adult receives, a two-row weeder two-thirds, and a three-row weeder an adult's full wages. The work is hard and tiring, particularly for the younger children through the long 10-hour day. There are no regulations, no permits, no physical examinations, no measures whatever for safeguarding their health and welfare.

I have been on this marsh in the height of the season but my last visit was in the autumn just past, after most of the families had moved away for the winter. Where had they gone? Where were their homes in the winter? These questions arose in my

mind and I tried to find the answers through talking with the few remaining families. They said that they had come to the marsh from "Kentucky" or "the mountains of Kentucky" and that most of them returned there after the season. They declined to be more definite. If I asked the name of the town, they answered invariably that they "lived in the country"; if I asked the name of the county, they said that they "didn't know." This struck me as strange and I felt baffled for I wanted to follow these migrants and learn something about the conditions under which they lived through the rest of the year, and whether the children had the benefit of regular attendance at school. The "mountains of Kentucky" cover 34 counties of that commonwealth and having spent some time in that great region myself, I knew how vague these directions were. I was about to give up in despair when I chanced upon a village postmaster on the marsh who said that frequently he had been asked by these families to "back" letters to Ivyton and Salyersville in Kentucky, and added that he didn't know just where these towns were but that he had often heard Magoffin County mentioned. A friendly map showed me that both towns were in Magoffin County and that one was the county seat. Furthermore, I noticed that Magoffin County lay next to Breathitt and at once there came before me pictures of mountain feuds, "fightin's an' stealin's," moonshine whisky, and the other features popularly associated with the life of the mountaineer. The map disclosed also two almost parallel railroad lines in that region with Magoffin County lying between them and untouched by either, the distance from one or the other to the county seat being apparently about nine or ten miles.

At the first opportunity I went to these "mountains of Kentucky," entering Magoffin from the west side on a branch railroad which took me to the village of Caney. I had been told that I could ride from there to Salyersville with the hack driver who carries the mail, and he and the ticket agent were the only ones to be seen when I, the only passenger for that station, alighted from the train at noon. I asked the hack driver whether I could ride over to Salyersville with him, but he replied that because the roads had got so bad, he had come on horseback and therefore could not accommodate me. I tried to get a conveyance or hire a horse but none was to be found. After posting my bag—for which the driver didn't thank



me as it meant that he would have to carry it and wouldn't receive any more for his day's work—I started out to walk. It was then I learned that the distance was 18 miles instead of the nine or ten it appeared to be on paper. As the hack driver started out with a big load—mostly mail-order-house stuff—he said, “If yer a good walker you kin walk along with me and I'll show you the way. I see yer a stranger in these parts, and the road is jist a leetle hard to follow.” Realizing that it was either a forced march or a mighty good chance of getting lost, I decided upon the former and kept pace with the mule for 11 miles, to the home of the hack driver's boss—the man who had the contract for carrying the mail, arriving just at dark. Here the driver “picked up the hack and carried it,” as he put it, on into Salyersville. Needless to say I welcomed this chance to ride, uncomfortable though the hack was.

The 11-mile walk had somewhat dulled my senses so that at the time I could not fully appreciate the sight of the driver frequently hanging out over the side of the hack to keep it from toppling over into the “branch” below and flaying the mules with a heavy stick to keep from getting stuck in the mud. Three times he asked me to get out and walk up the hill as it was too steep, rough, and stony in some places, muddy in others, for the mules to pull more than the hack and mail, and even then it took much persuasion from the stick to get to the top.

As one travels over such roads—although they don't deserve the name of roads—he can easily understand of what great importance means of communication is to any people. Here every rod of travel at best entails a tremendous expenditure of human energy. No wonder schools are poor or lacking in many places, church services infrequent, and for over half the year a complete absence of any kind of community life. There is not much incentive for a family to raise more than it can consume, for there is no way of disposing of a surplus. Barter of necessity is largely the means of exchange. In the winter the father's chief recreation is in going to the store for a few groceries—and they are few indeed—or in taking the corn to the mill to be ground.

Much of the time he must walk, for the roads are in such a state that venturing out on a horse is too great a risk. At the mill and the store he meets his neighbors and kin, but his wife and children have no opportunity to learn the news, save as he brings it in. Some-

times a "killin' " occurs and then the whole neighborhood is wrought up. Sides are taken and excitement runs high. Those on the side of the slain seek to kill the slayer, while the latter's friends make haste to raise a purse and get him out of the country until the feeling against him subsides. And here we have the reason why those workers on "the marsh" were so "ignorant" of the place from whence they came. If the matter gets to court the fugitive may have to stay away three or four years, but sooner or later he will return.

But to get back to my story. I arrived at Salyersville about 9:30 that night. The driver had started on his trip at 4 o'clock that morning—that was his daily stint for which he was paid \$1.50 a day. He had told me there were two hotels in the town—one just as good as the other—and that he never "drummed" for either one or the other, for both of the proprietors were his friends—a sense of fairness characteristic of the mountaineer—and no amount of questioning would get him to say one word that might give either of them the least advantage. Before I had got my bag from the post office, the proprietor of the hotel opposite came in and greeting me with the familiar expression of the mountaineer, "Howdy," inquired whether I wanted a room. I replied that I did, and supper too, for I was hungry. I followed him across—I was going to say the "street" but "trail" would be more accurate—with a sort of misgiving in my heart, for I recalled the advice always given to those who venture into the mountains: "Carry concentrated foods with you." And this is sound advice as ninety-nine out of every one hundred meals offered to one in this region will show, but, as every rule has its exceptions so has this advice and here was the exception. The good wife had quickly prepared a meal the like of which I had seen but once before in Kentucky—those who know the state will recall "The Old Inn," at Greenville. After supper the proprietor, who had looked askance at me several times in passing through the dining room—for a stranger even in a hotel is looked upon with more or less suspicion until he and particularly his business are known—informed me gruffly that he would show me to my room. It was spotlessly clean and reasonably comfortable. In the grate was a cheery gas fire. This luxury was so out of keeping with the other appointments that I was curious to know how they came to have it, and from mine host I learned the story. Many years ago, long before the town of Salyersville was even thought of, some travellers

camping nearby noticed the water in the creek bubbling and giving off a peculiar odor. A torch was applied and a burning resulted. They didn't know what it was but they called the creek "Burning Fork." Recently there has been considerable development of the local oil and gas resources, and now most of the families in the town have the gas piped into their homes.

After a good night's rest I heard a knock on my door and the proprietor announced, "Breakfast in twenty minutes." It seemed as though I had been in bed only a short time and it was still dark, but, remembering the evening meal, I decided to take no chances and was at the table on time. When one has his health, fried chicken in the early morning is not to be withstood.

After breakfast I started out to see the town and some of the leading citizens. That didn't take long for the town is small and contains not more than 50 families. Nobody seemed to know much about the onion workers, except that they lived over on Puncheon. The county officials would furnish no information. In my conversations with them and other citizens, always courteous, I could instinctively sense their unspoken questions: "Who are you? What is your real business? Are you here to swindle our people out of more of their coal, timber, oil and gas lands? Are you a revenue officer? Why are you really so concerned about the school question—no one else has ever been!"

At last in my wanderings about the town, I chanced upon a family on the outskirts who had been to the Ohio onion fields. I carefully explained my purpose to the head of this family and for the simple reason that he had been outside he had come to know that not everybody need be looked upon with suspicion, and soon began to talk of his experiences. He had been to Ohio the year before, but had not returned this year because, as he said, "I learned a few things up thar last year and I wanted to try 'em out." He owns a small farm with some rather futile land along the creek, and had brought back with him and sown some onion seed, following very carefully—even religiously—the methods of cultivation used in Ohio. He planted a small plot of ground and had raised something like 50 bushels of onions which he had sold at a nice profit. He had also cultivated other vegetables as he had seen done in the other state. His corn would make 75 bushels to the acre. When I asked him why his crops were so much better than his neighbors',



he replied, "Wall, I'll tell you, I'd heard the folks talkin' 'bout what a wonderful place that war, so I jist decided I'd go an' see fer meself. You know I'd been borned an' raised here an' never been away so I jist rented my farm an' thought I'd try it fer a year. I got along all right—made good money, although I wasn't rich when I left in the fall, but I kept me eyes open an' watched jist how they did things. When I come back I jist decided I was agoin' to try it down here. Folks said I was a fool, that I wouldn't raise nuthin' and was jist a-wastin' my money an' time, but I showed 'em what I could do. Now if I only had a way to git to market with what I could raise. You know our people are good folks an' all that but they don't know how to do things. We ain't had no one to tell us what to do or how to farm. Oh, if we only had schools and roads like they got in Ohio! Why, do you know up thar they kin go any time o' year an' they don't have to go horseback neither, an' they kin haul jist as big a load as they want to. They make the kids go to school, too. If they ain't thar every day they send somebody after 'em an' they ain't no monkey-business neither. We ain't agoin' to be no better off until we git better roads an' schools and some one to tell us how to farm an' I do hope you're agoin' to help us git these things." I went away with the feeling that one didn't have to go very far to see that what he said was so and that help was badly needed.

He then told me how to get to Puncheon Creek where the majority of the onion workers were living. This creek is toward Ivyton, which is about 7 miles from Salyersville. He told me to look up Mr. Ham Logan (the name is fictitious) as he was "fixed" to accommodate strangers and warned me not to miss the place, as otherwise I would find it "pretty hard to make out." So at about 3 o'clock I left the "Old Inn" of Magoffin County and started on my way, arriving at Mr. Logan's place about 6 o'clock. He was not at home when I arrived but his wife told me I could stay over night and invited me to go around and sit on the front porch. The flies being somewhat annoying, I decided to walk about and wandered over to the garden where Mose, the youngest and only son at home, and a neighbor were digging sweet potatoes. They had about 75 bushels of fine potatoes and were putting them upstairs in the spare bedroom to dry out. Later on, they were to be put down in sand, as there was no cellar.

In a few minutes Mr. Logan came and a finer type of man one would not meet in many a day's travel. He greeted me cordially, and, as is customary in these parts, inquired about my business. He readily grasped the purpose for which I had come and was very much interested. His people had emigrated from Ireland in the early part of the 19th century and had settled in the mountains. He was tall, keen, erect and showed but little his 70 years; unlettered in so far as books go, yet he had a wealth of practical knowledge and experience, and was intelligently interested in a wide variety of subjects. Born in Magoffin County, he had married after having fought in the Civil War and settled down on this farm of some 300 or 400 acres. He and his wife, two years his junior, had cleared it with their own hands, and had endured untold hardships and privations to get it paid for. They have 13 children—all living and scattered about over the hills. Of their 41 grandchildren, and 8 great-grandchildren, all are living but three grandchildren. "Many a time," he said, "we didn't have anything to eat but cornbread an' even that at times run very low." He took me over in the barn-lot and showed me a black walnut stump over four feet across, saying: "That tree was as straight as a die an' 40 feet to the first limb, an' one day a man come along an' offered me \$5 for it. I knowed it was wuth more'n that, but I needed the money an' what could I do but sell it? That's the way I sold all my timber. Last year," he added, "they come around an' wanted to lease my land fer oil. I didn't think there was much to it an' they was fine talkers an' got me to lease it for a dollar an acre. The other day they struck oil on the Burning Fork an' if I had my lease back now I could git \$25 an acre. Oh, well, maybe come day they'll drill a well on my place an' if they git oil, I'll git an eighth of it. That'll be enough fer me an' Mary, 'cause you see we're gittin' old now an' ain't agoin' to live long." He was dreaming and the dreams in the evening of his life were indeed sweet to him for he still has hopes of a fortune. The story of this man's timber and oil rights could be told over and over again for the majority of the mountain families, illiterate and isolated as they are. They didn't know its value and the little ready cash offered by the astute wildcat promoter was too much for them to resist. So has their patrimony slipped from their

hands, while in their hearts there has come a sense of doubt and suspicion toward all strangers.

After supper he brought in some wood and kindled a fire in the grate, for the evening was cool, and we sat and talked until midnight. Very frankly he asked me a great number of questions ranging from what was taking place relative to the peace treaty to matters concerning my own personal life and family. He was keenly interested in the welfare of his own mountain people, especially in schools for the children. He remarked, "they say this country is poor, an' it is if you consider the taxes we pay, but jist look at all this timber, coal, oil an' gas that's goin' out o' here—then look at our schoolhouses. Us farmers ain't gittin' it, an' in a very few years the country will be poor an' then we won't be able to build any schoolhouses at all. Some of the mountain folks," he added, "ain't a-deservin' of nuthin' better; now you take some of them folks that lives over on Stony Crick—not all of 'em, but most of 'em—they're lazy, triflin' an' good-fer-nuthin'. They won't work much or save nuthin'. They've all got sore eyes, jist because they're too lazy to clean up. They marry their own kin-folks, and are always a-gettin' in trouble. Then you folks from the outside say we're *all* bad people, but most of them folks that goes to the onion fields up in Ohio are good, honest, hard-workin' people." I later visited Stony Creek and saw that what he had said about a real slum district out here in the mountains was absolutely true. It lies in the ever-widening area from which the onion workers are recruited. Going about over this area I found some of the people "good-fer-nuthin'," as he had described them but on the other hand the majority are good people, ignorant and retarded, yet honest and making the best they can out of their narrow and isolated lives.

Daily I went from Mr. Logan's house into the section where the onion workers live and verified from many sources the story he had told me of how they happened to go to "the marsh." It came about in this way: some 13 years ago a young mountaineer in his twenties was said to have committed some offence for which he was compelled to leave the county. He didn't have much money but he and his wife started out with what they had and went northwards, coming at last into central Ohio. Here they counted their funds—less than two dollars—and asking the ticket agent to sell them tickets to whatever place it would take them, they got on the



train again and alighted at Algiers—a small town “on the marsh.” Here they saw great level fields dotted here and there with groups of people stooping over, doing some kind of work. Never having seen an onion field before, or even as much as thought that onions were ever grown in other than a small garden patch, they of course didn’t know what the workers were doing. When they were told they inquired whether they could get a job, and starting at it, both worked very diligently the entire season. They made what to them was big money. They spent the first winter “on the marsh” and when spring opened the mountaineer told the operators he could go to Kentucky and get any amount of labor for them. Being ever on the alert for cheap labor, the offer appealed to them and giving him several hundred dollars to pay transportation they sent him back to Kentucky among kin and friends to recruit labor for their fields. He did this for a couple of years after which time the people came of their own accord and have kept it up for the last decade. Almost all these families come from the one section in and about this young man’s home. The area has been constantly widening and the number of families gradually increasing. Fully nine-tenths of the 400 families living in Puncheon, Wheatly, Salt Lick, Middle, Burning Fork, Johnson, and Gun Creeks, and Goodlow and State Road Forks of Middle Creek have at one time or another been to “the marsh.” A few families came from the Big Sandy and the Trace Fork of the Licking River in another county, so that in all something like 400 families have for one or more years gone to the onion fields. The annual migration embraces about 100 families. I located and interviewed 25 families having 85 children of school age, and secured the names of 39 others said to have 113 children of school age, all of whom had been to “the marsh” in the season of 1919.

Not more than one-third of all these families own any land. Only a very few of the land owners—perhaps not more than a half dozen—have purchased their holdings with money earned in the onion fields, although frequently, especially when the season is good, the total net family income is such as would enable them to make a substantial payment on the purchase price if they would so apply it. They have not however had any training in thrift, consequently their year’s income is gone before they know it. The majority of them barely have enough money left in the spring

to get back to the onion fields. Those who own or lease land in the mountains, rent or sublet it in the spring, usually to some of their kinsmen who will raise enough corn to "bread the whole clan" during the winter. When the workers return they either move into a shack or cabin on the place or, as is more likely to be the case, live in their own homes with the other families already there, or they may "winter" with relatives. Those who stay at home one year are very likely to be found in the onion fields the next year because, as one man explained when asked why they always returned to Kentucky in the fall, "Y' see it's like this—we kin live so much cheaper back here. Y' know our corn for bread don't cost much, an' we kin fatten our own meat, an' we kin go to the bank and dig out what little coal we need." Add to this their clannishness and desire to be with their own folks and among familiar scenes, and one probably has the sum total of their reason for going back and forth. There are a few families, however,—not those previously referred to as being compelled to stay away—who have purchased land "on the marsh" or homes in a village thereabouts and thus have become permanent residents of Ohio.

The housing conditions both "on the marsh" and in Kentucky are extremely bad. In Kentucky most of the houses are built of logs, and usually contain only two rooms. Some of them are built of sawed lumber, thus having a more comfortable outward appearance. The interior decorations consist of newspapers pasted on the walls. There are no floor coverings and all have open fire places. Much of the furniture is crudely hand-made out of packing boxes. None of the houses have screens and none have toilets. Most of the drinking water is taken from the polluted creeks as the houses are nearly always located in the hollows. The houses "on the marsh" are for the most part just boarded up. A few, however, are plastered on the inside. Taking into consideration the difference in temperature, they are not as comfortable in the winter time as the houses in Kentucky. They are heated with stoves. The furniture is somewhat more greatly improvised than in the Kentucky homes. Very few of the houses have screens. The water is from drilled wells and is said to be good although there were several cases of typhoid fever "on the marsh" last summer. Not being accustomed to toilets in Kentucky, the mountaineers have little respect

for them in Ohio. The toilets are foul, ill-smelling and a constant attraction for flies. The ground "on the marsh" being so level, the question of sewage and garbage disposal is serious and is not being solved in a healthful way. In rainy seasons particularly, the yards become veritable mud holes.

As in Kentucky, several families often live in the same house. The houses being small, there is practically no chance to observe common privacies of single-family life. In fact, privacy is almost unknown to them. This condition has given rise to severe criticism by the native people living "on the marsh" who denounce the Kentucky families as immoral. I am convinced that except for the few degenerate families previously referred to, they are not so much immoral as unmoral—a condition almost entirely due to ignorance.

The worst phase of this whole situation concerns the schools. It is really tragic to think that such a condition actually exists in any American community. Three schoolhouses in Kentucky where the majority of the children of these migrant mountaineers should attend, have been deserted. I visited one of them and the two others were said to be in an equally deplorable state. The one I saw is on Jake's Creek, a branch of Puncheon. As I walked up Puncheon to where Jake's Creek comes in and thence up the latter about a hundred yards, I saw a scene I shall never forget. On either side of this little creek, and rising from its very bed, the hills loomed high. The sun was just sinking behind the mountains beyond and was in such a position that it shone straight down the little valley. A few steps farther and it was hidden by what looked to be an abandoned shed but as I drew nearer I saw the sun's rays coming through what appeared to be window openings. The building was located on a beautiful grass plot about a half acre in size and perfectly level. It was leaning and apparently in the last stages of decay, and yet there was something so indescribably beautiful about the whole scene, that one could scarcely realize its tragedy was as great as its beauty, for it was the neighborhood schoolhouse and the lesson hour had not yet passed, but there were no children to recite and here in this lovely spot by the mountain brook the hills no longer echoed their laughter while at play. The silence of desertion was oppressive.

There were no doors, windows, sash or glass. The floor was made of puncheon, fully one-third of which had been torn away,



thus exposing the hewn sleepers. The benches were hand-made, straight-backed and had no place on which to write or place the books. There was no blackboard. One's hand could be thrust through the cracks between the boards in the wall, and light came through holes in the clapboard roof.

As I came around to the front of the building I saw, much to my surprise, a man sitting in the doorway. He was dressed in the ordinary garb of the mountain people and the expression on his face betrayed his feelings. As I later learned, he was the teacher, and was fulfilling his part of the contract by coming to the school-house even though he knew no children would be there. When I asked him why they didn't come, he said, "You know the onion workers leave here about April 1st and don't get back until about the middle of November. Our schools start here July 15th and close by Christmas. When the families get back it takes them some little time to get settled and then they say the time's so short it's no use to start them. So we can't have any school. It would be no use to try to force them to come for so short a time, and besides just look at this building!"

The teacher invited me to his home over on Jenny's Creek and I joined his family at supper. There were five children, the eldest, a boy of 16 years who had been away, working on a railroad to supplement the family income, and the youngest, a girl between 3 and 4 years old. While his wife was getting the humble meal ready, the teacher gathered the children about him in the front room to play with them and keep them from "pesterin'" in the kitchen. There were no toys nor playthings of any kind so they ran about after one another and managed to get under their mother's feet as much as ever. To quiet them a little the father called the youngest and said to her, "Mary, can't you say your piece fer the stranger?" and barefoot Mary sidled up bashfully and with a tremendous bow, "said her piece," none of which I could understand. The father's face was beaming with pride as I called the little girl to me and gave her three bright pennies. They were wonderful things to Mary whose face was alight with joy, and she ran to show her mother what "the man" had given her. She was quick to lay her plans, for a moment later, when I took her on my knee and asked her what she was going to buy with her money, she answered earnestly, "I'se goin' to git some stockin's." Her

father spoke up, "Why, Mary, I thought I saw you with stockin's on the other day," Mary quickly replied, "Yes, but they was brother's."

The families who go back and forth, do not send their children to school in the spring when in Ohio, for they argue, "Our school is out in Kentucky"; and in the fall they say, "We will soon be going back and it's no use to start in here"—consequently here are several hundred children actually attending no school at all, save as their parents take an off year from the onion work. It is true the parents are not greatly concerned about the schooling of their children, but their neglect is due to indifference, not to hostility. Of all the difficult problems that arise in connection with migration, the most difficult to deal with is that of the school. It is hard to say just where the public responsibility rests, for these people have their residence in one state and then work in another. The school and work seasons conflict with each other and the children are paying the price by growing up in ignorance, which sooner or later will make for unrest. This problem will not solve itself, neither will it be solved by the workers. They can not do it. The industry itself should bear a definite part of this responsibility and perhaps the other part should be borne jointly by the federal government and the states involved in the migration. If the pending Smith-Towner bill becomes a law, would it not be possible to set aside certain funds for the employment of migrant teachers to accompany groups of families and conduct school for those children whose parents are following seasonal occupations? Whether this suggestion is practical or not, we must concede that these wandering children are just as much entitled to education as those who stay in one place and that it is just as necessary to educate them as any others. The number of children whose parents migrate is large and is growing larger. The problem is urgent and must be solved.

# CHILD WELFARE ADMINISTRATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

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WILEY H. SWIFT

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A not inconsiderable number of students of social matters believe that North Carolina has made a distinct contribution to the social machinery of the state by the establishment of her State and County Boards of Public Welfare. Those who believe this hope that the good features of North Carolina's system, adapted, of course, to the peculiar conditions and well-fixed institutions of any given state, may be adopted by other states. Seeing that there is this belief and this hope, it may not be amiss to give a brief account of the North Carolina plan.

North Carolina did not hurry to set up her state and county agencies for social work and supervision. After very careful investigation and thought by a number of private citizens interested in social development, a beginning was made by the enactment of the law of 1917, which was, at best, only a sort of social experiment. The experiment proved to be satisfactory in that it was educative, and the General Assembly of 1919 rounded out the work so wisely begun in 1917. There has never been any thought of going backward, but always a planning for making the machinery more effective. Those directly interested have, however, been wise enough to teach the people to want just about what the new State and County Boards promised to give and are now beginning actually to give them. North Carolinians believe in two principles: central control and local activity, which seem to be opposites but which they have always tried, and with a considerable degree of success, to harmonize. The establishment of State and County Boards of Public Welfare is another attempt by the state to yoke these two apparently antagonistic principles together, and it is not a failure.

The act of 1917 as amended by the act of 1919 provides for four district social agents: a State Board of Public Welfare, a Com-



missioner of Public Welfare, a County Board of Public Welfare and a County Superintendent of Public Welfare. The duties and powers of each of these, as defined by the act, are such as that all unite to form a more or less complete unit.

#### A.—STATE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE

The legal title of the State Board is the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. The old State Board of Charities which concerned itself largely with jails and almshouses was abolished and the Board of Charities and Public Welfare was established in its stead. Certain constitutional provisions as well as wisdom indicated this course to be the proper one.

Section 3913. There shall be elected by the General Assembly, upon the recommendation of the Governor, seven persons who shall be styled "The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare," and at least one of such persons shall be a woman, which persons shall serve without pay: *Provided, however*, that they shall receive their necessary expenses. At this session of the General Assembly all seven of said members shall be elected, three for a term of two years, two for a term of four years, and two for a term of six years, and thereafter the term shall be six years for all. That such election shall be by concurrent vote of the Assembly and that appointments to fill vacancies in the board arising from any cause whatsoever, except expiration of term, shall be made for the residue of such term by the Governor.

The duties and powers of the State Board are set out in the following section:

Section 3914. The Board shall hold meetings at least quarterly and whenever called in session by the chairman, and shall make such rules and orders for the regulation of its own proceedings as it deems proper. It shall have the following powers and duties, to wit:

(a) To investigate and supervise through and by its own members or its agents or employees the whole system of the charitable and penal institutions of the State and to recommend such changes and additional provisions as it may deem needful for their economical and efficient administration.

(b) To study the subjects of non-employment, poverty, vagrancy, housing conditions, crime, public amusement, care and treatment of prisoners, divorce and wife desertion, the social

evil and kindred subjects and their causes, treatment and prevention, and the prevention of any hurtful social condition.

(c) To study and promote the welfare of the dependent and delinquent child and to provide either directly or through a bureau of the board for the placing and supervision of dependent, delinquent, and defective children.

(d) To inspect and make report on private orphanages, institutions, maternity homes, and persons or organizations receiving or placing children, and such institutions shall submit such reports and information as may be required by the State Board. It shall be unlawful for any person, institution or organization for the purpose of caring for or placing children to carry on such work or business without license therefor from the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. The said Board of Charities and Public Welfare is hereby empowered to grant license for one year to such institutions, persons or agencies to carry on such work as it believes is needed and is for the public good and is conducted by reputable persons or organizations and the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare may revoke such license when in its opinion the public welfare or the good of the children therein is not being properly subserved.

(e) To issue bulletins and in other ways to inform the public as to social conditions and the proper treatment and remedies for social evils; and such bulletins shall be printed by the public printer to such amount and to such extent as may be approved by the State Printing Committee.

(f) To issue subpoenas and compel attendance of witnesses, administer oaths, and to send for persons and papers whenever it deems it necessary in making the investigations provided for herein or in the other discharge of its duties, and to give such publicity to its investigations and findings as it may deem best for the public welfare.

(g) To employ a trained investigator of social service problems who shall be known as the Commissioner of Public Welfare, and to employ such other inspectors, officers and agents as it may deem needful in the discharge of its duties.

(h) To recommend to the Legislature social legislation and the creation of necessary institutions.

(i) To encourage employment by counties of a county superintendent of public welfare and to co-operate with the county superintendent of public welfare in every way possible.

(j) To attend, either through its members or agents, social service conventions and similar conventions and to assist in promoting all helpful publicity tending to improve social conditions of the State, and to pay out of the funds appropriated to the State Board, office expenses, salaries of employees, and

all other expenses incurred in carrying out the duties and powers hereinbefore set out.

To this should be added the duty to give special attention to insanity, idiocy, deformity and infirmity—Sec. 3916 to inspect jails, almshouses and other penal or charitable institutions and to examine and approve plans for all such buildings—Sec. 3917; and to see that insane persons are properly cared for—Sec. 3919.

#### B.—COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WELFARE

The only mention which is made of the Commissioner of Public Welfare in the act is to be found under (g) of Section 3919:

(g) To employ a trained investigator of social service problems who shall be known as the Commissioner of Public Welfare, and to employ such other inspectors, officers and agents as it may deem needful in the discharge of its duties.

This is all that has been found to be necessary. The Commissioner is the executive officer of the State Board—is, in fact, the State Board in action. His office is in the state building in Raleigh, the capital city. He exercises without question all the powers and is expected to perform all the duties placed by law in the State Board, and in addition to all his duties and powers arising out of the acts of 1917 and 1919 establishing the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare he was empowered by another act of 1919 to sit as one of the three members of the State Child Welfare Commission, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Secretary of the State Board of Health being the other two members.

#### C.—COUNTY BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE

County Boards of Public Welfare which are technically speaking County Boards of Charities and Public Welfare have, in fact, no authority whatever. They do not select the County Superintendents of Public Welfare. They are advisory boards only, and serve without pay.

Section 5915. The State Board shall appoint in each county three persons, to be known as the County Board of Charities and Public Welfare, whose duty shall be to advise with and assist the State Board in the work in the county, to



make such visitations and reports as the State Board may request, and to act in a general advisory capacity to the county and municipal authorities in dealing with questions of dependency and delinquency, distribution of the poor funds, and social conditions generally. The members of the County Board of Charities and Public Welfare shall serve without pay. The county commissioners and county board of education in each county shall in joint session, not later than July 15th, nineteen hundred and nineteen, appoint a County Superintendent of Public Welfare, who shall serve at the pleasure of said boards, and whose salary shall be fixed and paid jointly from the public funds of said boards. The County Superintendent of Public Welfare shall be the chief school attendance officer of the county, and shall have other duties and powers as follows:

(a) To have, under control of the County Commissioners, the care and supervision of the poor and to administer the poor funds.

(b) To act as agent of the State Board in relation to any work to be done by the State Board within the county.

(c) Under the direction of the State Board to look after and keep up with the condition of persons discharged from hospitals for the insane and from other State institutions.

(d) To have oversight of prisoners in the county on parole from penitentiaries, reformatories, and all parole prisoners in the county.

(e) To have oversight of dependent and delinquent children, and especially those on parole or probation.

(f) To have oversight of all prisoners in the county on probation.

(g) To promote wholesome recreation in the county and to enforce such laws and regulate commercial amusement.

(h) Under the direction of the State Board to have oversight of dependent children placed in said county by the State Board.

(i) To assist the State Board in finding employment for the unemployed.

(j) To investigate into the cause of distress, under the direction of the State Board, and to make such other investigations in the interest of social welfare as the State Board may direct.

The State Board shall have power and right at any time to remove any member of the County Board.

#### D.—COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

As appears from the section just above quoted, the County Superintendent is the local county social administrative agent. In addition to the duties herein set out he may be made under the

provisions of another act of 1919 an agent of the State Board of Child Welfare to enforce laws regulating the employment of children. County superintendents are now helping to enforce the laws regulating the employment of children.

It thus appears:

1. That the direction and supervision of all state and county charitable and social activities is lodged in a board of seven non-salaried members elected by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Governor, and that the Commissioner of Public Welfare is the agent and executive officer of the Board. As a matter of fact, the Commissioner of Public Welfare has not undertaken, as yet, to do all that the General Assembly authorized the State Board to do. It was not possible to do it all. A County Superintendent of Public Welfare had to be approved and provided for each of the one hundred counties during the year 1919. There are now not more than five counties in the state without such an officer. Child-caring and child-placing institutions have not, of course, been brought up to standard; but even if there had been time and agents for doing this, it would not have been done. The people of North Carolina prefer to grow rather than to jump even into better social conditions.

The plan has, however, been sufficiently developed for one to say with certainty that child welfare—and by this is meant the bringing of personal attention to every delinquent, neglected or dependent child—is to be the chief concern of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. The General Assembly of 1919 enacted an excellent Juvenile Court Law. Every county has its Juvenile Court, which is a part of the Superior Court, with the clerk of the court sitting as occasion may require as Juvenile Judge and with the County Superintendent of Public Welfare acting as either probation officer or chief probation officer. All these Juvenile Judges and County Superintendents simply had to have some instruction in the duties of their offices. The State Board has been busy with this very important piece of work.

A Division of Child Welfare has been established as a part of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare with a director. The duties of this director are: To keep in touch with all public and private child-caring and child-placing agencies; to advise with County Superintendents of Public Welfare in the handling of delin-

quent, neglected or dependent or defective children (the director goes to any county to do case work in complicated cases); and to advise with parents and guardians of any children needing care of any sort.

2. That the County Superintendent of Public Welfare is the local agent for doing and supervising county social work. He is both the eye and hand of the state. His duty is to see every child in his county and to bring to that child such care as is needed. The members of each County Board of Charities and Public Welfare are selected by the State Board. In other words, the State Board selects three members in each county to form a board to advise with its agent, and to insure that these three advisors will be of real value to the agent the power to remove a member of any County Board, at any time, is reposed by law in the State Board. In order that the County Board may remain strictly an advisory board, the power even to select a County Superintendent of Public Welfare is withheld from it. The Board of County Commissioners and the County Board of Education select this officer and determine his compensation, which is paid part by the Board of Commissioners and part by the Board of Education as may be agreed upon by the two boards. The person selected for County Superintendent of Public Welfare must have the approval of the State Board of Public Welfare. This enables the State Board to select its one hundred agents and thus helps to bind the whole system into a complete unit; for once the County Superintendent of Public Welfare is appointed, he comes immediately under the supervision of the State Board. Thus rather full local activity with central control and supervision is secured—the two opposites are yoked and made to pull together.

The County Superintendent of Public Welfare is the key to the county social situation. The State Board can see to it that he is a fit and competent person, can give him proper aid and instruction and such special aid as may be found to be needful, and does name his official advisors. As heretofore pointed out, he is made by the Juvenile Court Act of 1919, the chief probation officer of the Juvenile Court. This places him in direct supervision of every child passing through that court. He can not fail to come in touch with every delinquent, neglected or dependent child. A proper handling of these cases will force him to make inquiry into the social condition of the families from which these children come.



Another law enacted in 1919 makes it the duty of every parent or guardian to send all children between 8 and 14 years of age to school for the full term of the public school of the district in which the child resides, unless lawful excuse for absence is shown. The enforcement of this act rests with the County Superintendent of Public Welfare by virtue of the fact that he is the school attendance officer. The same act authorizes the State Child Welfare Commission to use the County Superintendent of Public Welfare in enforcing the laws regulating the employment of children and this power is now being exercised. No work permits are required for the employment of children but the State Child Welfare Commission has authorized County Superintendents of Public Welfare to issue permits to boys over 12 but under 14 years of age to work at occupations ordinarily forbidden by law when the public school is not in session. Each case must be investigated before a permit can be issued.

The school census age of children is 6 to 21 years of age, inclusive. The compulsory school age is from 8 to 14, inclusive. If the County Superintendent of Public Welfare makes proper use of the school census and looks properly after the enforcement of the compulsory education law and the laws regulating the employment of children, he will have a rather close oversight of every child more than 6 years of age. Children under 6 years of age will not, of course, be in such direct touch. In many cases, however, an older child will lead him to the needy little one. When there is no such older child to lead, other sources of first notice of neglect or need must be depended upon.

A County Superintendent of Public Welfare has been appointed for each of the hundred counties with the exception of five. An approved person has not been found for these. The law permits the County Superintendent of Public Instruction to act as County Superintendent of Public Welfare in any county of not more than twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Only 23 counties have such a combination officer. It has been found that the work of a County Superintendent of Public Welfare is such as to forbid in most counties his undertaking to supervise the public schools of the county.

Cities which have City Board of Welfare or other social agencies are authorized to consolidate the city social work with the county

social work under the supervision of the County Superintendent of Public Welfare, the city and county bearing the expenses jointly as may be agreed—sec. 3921. The tendency is to treat all social work as county work.

### SUMMARY

The whole plan may be summed up in a paragraph. The General Assembly through its Governor and General Assembly selects six persons who are enough interested to work without pay, to constitute the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare and to look out for every child who may for any reason be in need of care. This Board in turn employs a competent person to take charge and direction of all the state work. Offices and office assistants are given to him. Then the law bids the Board of County Commissioners and the County Board of Education, sitting together, to appoint a County Superintendent of Public Welfare to aid the State Commissioner and to provide compensation for him (they must be careful to select a person approved by the State Board). Finally the law directs the State Board to appoint three citizens of his county to act as a board of advisors to the County Superintendent, and if occasion arises, with the State Board or the State Commissioner.

Any student of social legislation might, in a short time, suggest improvement in the act of 1919, governing State and County Boards of Public Welfare. One or two amendments force themselves into consideration. The act of 1919 governing the attendance at school and the employment of children is not the best law that could be drawn on these subjects, but it is the best that could be enacted in 1919, and really marked considerable advance in social legislation. The important thing is that the people of the state are beginning to feel a just pride in this new thing which they have made to serve their social needs, are following where it leads, are coming to accept school attendance as a matter of public interest, and are rapidly coming to understand that the employment of children for any purpose other than education is something to be deplored and stopped at the earliest possible moment. The state hopes that it has set an eye to see every child and a hand to bring aid whenever that eye sees that aid is needed and it looks as if that hope is not vain, but is beginning to be realized.



It seemed impossible that the small person who stood before the Judge in the Children's Court could be so grave an offender.

"He steals, Mistah Judge, and he runs away," the tall negro woman reiterated, "and me and his paw suah wants him put whar he can't do none of dem things."

The Judge bent his gaze on the offending 7-year-old. Black as the ace of spades, no higher than the court table, the large tears chasing each other down his face, he was the picture of dejected childhood.

"Well, Sam," the Judge said kindly, "you've heard what your parents have to say about you. Now, what can you say for yourself?"

Sam clutched the table and struggled to control his tears. "Mistah Judge, Mistah Judge," he stammered, "I'se only got dis here to say: I'd be all right ef I jist had another set of parents."

—New York *Evening Sun*.

An examination of the records of Bureau of Vital Statistics sets forth some strange causes of death, some of which are as follows:

"Died suddenly, nothing serious."

"Went to bed feeling well, but woke up dead."

"Patient should not have died, as he fully recovered from his sickness."

"Don't know cause of death. He died without the aid of a physician."

"Died from blow on the head with ax. Contributory cause was another man's wife."



## CELESTIAL SPEED LIMITS

Last summer, I was in a section of the country which has more than its fair share of religious fanatics. Their zeal finds expression in signs which they put up in all available places—the walls of buildings, fences, telephone poles, rock faces—calling sinners to repentance and exhorting the wayfarer to follow in the paths of righteousness. One can hardly look about him without being directed in the way he should go. As I was riding along one of the roads in this section I chanced to look up and my eye caught this sign on a telephone pole: “Turn to the Lord! Make haste! The time is short!” On the very next pole was the sign: “Slow down to 10 miles an hour.”—*E.N.C.*

Pine Mountain, Kentucky, is one hundred and fifty miles long, and runs from Praise the Lord to Hell’s Point.



PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. Ellwood P. Cubberley. Boston:  
Houghton Mifflin Co.

Education, Mr. Cubberley believes, "has become the great constructive tool of civilization," and *Public Education in the United States* traces its development from the old colonial idea of schools controlled by the Church or existing primarily for religious purposes, to its present position as the most powerful factor in national life. This book gives a comprehensive and balanced presentation of the history of education in the United States and a discerning analysis and interpretation of the forces underlying the changes which have occurred. Though primarily a textbook, its value is not confined to the student; Mr. Cubberley's conception of education as a potent force, determined largely by social and economic conditions, but reacting in turn upon these conditions until it now stands as the most important factor in directing their future course, should be an inspiration to all educational workers and a guide to their future efforts.

Until 1890 educational activity centered about the elimination of sectarianism and the establishment of a system of free public schools with state supervision, and, during the last few decades of this period, under the teachings of Herbart, Froebel, Montessori and others about the school curriculum. It is since 1890, however, that the most rapid progress has been made; our conception of education has altered, and has necessitated a fundamental reorganization of the school system as well as further revision of both the content and method of teaching. These changes Mr. Cubberley attributes to the social and industrial forces which during this period have largely determined the character of our national life. "The great stream of immigration which has come to our shores, the vast industrial revolution which has taken place, the destruction of the old-type home, the virtual disappearance of the apprenticeship system of training, the institution of compulsory education, new conceptions as to the education of delinquents and defectives, new child-welfare legislation, and the rise of a rural life problem of great dimensions,—these are the most important changes and forces of the past three decades which have necessitated extensive modifications in almost every aspect of our educational service. To enable our schools to meet these new problems of our changing democratic life, we have been forced

to change the direction of our schools and to adapt the instruction given to the new needs and conditions of society."

Of these the most far-reaching in its consequences is the industrial revolution. In the reorganization of life which has followed, the old restraining and educative influences have been weakened, and the school has been called upon to take their place. "Instead of mere teaching institutions, engaged in imparting book-information and imposing discipline, our schools have been asked to grasp the significance of their social relationships, to transform themselves more fully into institutions for the improvement of democracy, and to prepare the young who attend them for greater social efficiency by teaching more that is directly useful and by training them better for citizenship in a democracy such as ours." This new conception of the function of the school is at the basis of all recent efforts to modernize education, and under the leadership of men like Eliot, Dewey and Flexner, methods in harmony with this principle are being introduced. "The center of gravity has shifted from that of the subject matter of instruction to that of the child to be taught."

Mr. Cubberley recognized the educational significance of the activities of individuals and organizations who, from a social, rather than an educational interest, have secured a revision of the compulsory attendance laws and the enactment of a vast amount of child labor and general child welfare legislation. These reforms have brought new classes of children into the schools and have made essential entirely new lines of work. Special instruction for delinquents and defectives of all types, for children of foreign parentage and for backward children, medical inspection, health teaching, playgrounds, supervised play, and many other special activities have come to be recognized as within the scope of educational work. This extension of function has not been confined to the elementary school; high school work is undergoing a similar adaptation to the needs of the child, and through evening classes, social centers, etc., the service of the public school is being extended to the entire community.

The changes Mr. Cubberley describes are indications of present tendencies in educational reform rather than actual achievements. There is much yet to be accomplished and four general lines are suggested along which future effort should be directed: (1) scientific study of education, emphasizing correlation of studies, "project" teaching, the use of intelligence tests, (2) reorganization of school work along such lines as the junior high school, the Gary system, etc., (3) reorganization of rural education through consolidation and abolition of the district system, (4) state educational reorganization to insure a consecutive policy and to permit of national aid.

Americans are inclined to consider education primarily a state affair. Mr. Cubberley points out, however, that even today we have a national system of education. For while differing in organization and scope our state systems have a common purpose and are all based upon the same fundamental principles—the essential nature of education, the right to tax for school support, equal opportunity, compulsory attendance and establishment of state standards. We shall never perfect our system of education, for if education is to reflect social and economic changes it can never be static. The function of education, however, can be determined. The reforms suggested by Mr. Cubberley recognize



this, and are such as will tend to secure a flexible school system, directed by leaders able and eager to shape its policies and develop its work in accordance with changing conditions.

GERTRUDE FOLKS.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE WORLD WAR. Frederic A. Ogg and Charles A. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company \$2.50.

"If the World War has demonstrated one thing above another," says the preface, "it is the power of political institutions, ideals, and practices—national and international—to contribute to or detract from human welfare. The late conflict arrayed state against state, people against people; yet it was, at bottom, a struggle between two great schemes of human government,—autocracy and democracy. On the field of battle, democracy has triumphed. The victory, however, can be regarded as complete and final only in the measure in which democracy is prepared to bring intelligence and sanity to the new and great tasks which it has assumed. Even Americans and Englishmen need a fuller realization of the bearings of governmental organization and practice upon public well-being, a better knowledge of the political experience and problems of other peoples, and a new enthusiasm for national and international reconstruction on lines such as will conserve the dearly bought gains of the recent conflict.

"The present volume is offered as an aid to the diffusion of this sort of knowledge and spirit. It deals mainly with comparative government and undertakes to show what the heritage and genius of the principal peoples lately engaged in the World War have meant in the shaping of contemporary political institutions and ideas. It seeks also to describe the great changes wrought in governmental organization and procedure during the war, and to point out the major political problems that remain for settlement during the early years of peace."

The volume is just what the preface indicates and what the names of the authors promise. It is one of the indispensable books for all students of political development and comparative government.

R. G. F.

SOCIAL GAMES AND GROUP DANCES. J. C. Elsom, M.D., and Blanche M. Trilling. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

This is a usable, useful book. It is, as the title page says, a collection of games and dances for community and social use. Anybody who has use for a handbook of games and dances will find this one useful; not merely the professional recreation worker, but whoever manages a home party or a church sociable. Part I, describing social games, is by Dr. Elsom, assistant professor of physical education at the University of Wisconsin. Parts II and III, describ-

ing group dances and singing games, is by Miss Trilling, associate professor of physical education at the same institution. Part I is divided into five chapters, as follows: "Social Mixers and Acquaintance Games," "Active Games of Tag," "Parlor and House-Party Games," "Games with Pencil and Paper," "Stunts." Music for the dances and singing games is given. The volume is well illustrated. The games and dances described in it are suitable, some for outdoors, some for indoors, some for both; some for children especially, some for either children or adults, some for both together.

R. G. F.

**RURAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY.** Ernest R. Groves. New York: Association Press, \$1.00.

In "Rural Problems of Today," Professor Groves has written a readable, suggestive and significant book. This little volume does not attempt a comprehensive survey or treatment of such rural problems as agricultural development, economic prosperity, school administration, community organization, but is rather occupied with the psychological elements in the ordinary life of country people: the psychic causes of discontent, emigration, individualism, etc.; mental hygiene in rural districts; the psychology of rural social engineering. It is not a treatise on rural problems, but an essay on the understanding of rural problems; and as such must be reckoned among the worth-while books of the country life literature. Professor Groves stresses the importance of the home as an institution of strategic value in rural progress, warning against a too ready disposition to discard its possibilities of usefulness and turn its functions over to other institutions.

R. G. F.

#### PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

**THE VALUE OF PLAY.** By R. D. Chadwick, Principal Morgan Park School, Duluth, Minn.

**COMMUNITY RECREATION.** Compiled by George O. Draper. New York: Association Press, 20 cents.

**SCHOOLROOM GAMES.** By Neva L. Boyd. Recreation Department, Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, 25 cents.

**HOSPITAL AND BEDSIDE GAMES.** By Neva L. Boyd. Recreation Department, Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, 35 cents.

#### NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE PAMPHLETS\*

**FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT.** By Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee. Single copies free.

**PEOPLE WHO GO TO BEETS.** By Theresa Wolfson. Illustrated. 15 cents.

\* Pamphlets will be sent free to members upon request.

- CHILDREN IN AGRICULTURE. By Ruth McIntire. Illustrated. 10 cents.
- CHILDREN WHO WORK IN OUR STREETS. By Ruth McIntire. Illustrated. 5 cents.
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